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THE
EARLY TRADITIONS OF GENESIS

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BY

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PREFACE

THE march of history has seen remarkable changes in men's attitude to the early narratives of Genesis. For centuries these were regarded by the whole Christian world as the authentic record of the origin of the world and man, and the beginnings of human history. In the present age, the tendency is to the opposite extreme. The supposed scientific shortcomings of the book which was once placed on so high a pinnacle of authority, have led many seekers after truth to cast it contemptuously aside, as absolutely valueless for both science and religion. The discovery in these chapters of elements common to Israel with other nations has even made them, in certain recent controversies, the principal battery-ground for an assault on the whole idea of Revelation.

The present thesis is an attempt to estimate the value of the narratives afresh in the light of modern research. It aims, in the first instance, at ascertaining, in objective, scientific fashion, their real character and significance. The author will here be found to move in harmony with the main trend of recent scholarship. But even while following the beaten track, he has worked out his results by independent study of the original documents, and in various directions has endeavoured to define the issues more precisely, hoping thus to shed light on problems that still await solution. A

truly scientific treatment cannot, however, rest content with formal investigations. It must concern itself still more seriously with the distinctive and original qualities of the traditions of Israel. The emphasis has therefore been laid on the moral and religious character of the narratives, and the author has sought to do more justice than is often allowed to these traditions as the first bright rays that heralded the coming of the full-orbed Light of the world.

The principal literature laid under contribution is tabulated in the Bibliography. Further references are made in the body of the text. Since the thesis was written, a number of important works, bearing more or less directly on the subject, has issued from the Press. That most nearly related to the present treatise is Cheyne's *Traditions and Beliefs of Ancient Israel*, a work of extraordinary learning and ingenuity, unfortunately dominated, to an almost exclusive extent, by the peculiar textual and historical principles with which Dr. Cheyne has recently identified himself. To this and other works, references have been introduced in the footnotes and Appendix.

The author has to express his deep obligations to Professor Jensen of Marburg, for permission to use his translation of the Babylonian Myths and Legends in the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. vi., and to Professor Nöldeke of Strassburg (through the courtesy of Dr. Hastings), for an advance copy of his article on "Arabic Religion" in the forthcoming *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*, as well as for answers to inquiries on that subject. His thanks are also due to Professor Gilroy, D.D., Aberdeen, who has kindly read the proofs.

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Other Abbreviations.

Bef. = before ; cf. = compare ; ctr. = contrast ; fr. = from ; ins. = insert ; prob. = probably ; rd. = read ; MSS. = Manuscripts ; MT. = Massoretic Text ; † = no other instance of word.

THE EARLY TRADITIONS OF GENESIS.

CHAPTER I.

Analysis of the Documents.

THE first eleven chapters of Genesis, it is now universally recognised, are a compilation from two sources, the Priestly Code (P) and the Jahvistic narrative (J). On the broad lines of demarcation there is likewise complete agreement among scholars. To P belong i.–ii. 4*a* (the Creation of the Universe); ch. v., with the exception of ver. 29 and the closing word of ver. 28 (the Genealogical line from Adam to Noah); vi. 9–22, vii. 6, 11, 13–16*a*, 17*a*, 18–21, 24, viii. 1, 2*a*, 3*b*–5, 13*a*, 14–19 (the Flood); ix. 1–17 (the blessing of Noah); ix. 28 f. (the close of Noah's Genealogy); x. 1*a*, 2–7, 20, 22 f., 31 f. (the Table of the Nations); xi. 10–27 (the Line from Shem to Abram); and xi. 31 f. (Terah's migration and death). The rest belongs to J.

Of the two documents, P yields a "complete, clear and close-knit context."[1]

[1] Well., *Comp.* p. 4. The only passages which have awakened real suspicion are the nearly related sections i. 29 f. and ix. 4–7. As Holzinger

The Jahvistic narrative, on the other hand, is highly complex. This appears, for example, from ch. iv., where the line of descent through Cain is followed by the beginning of an apparently new line through Seth, a younger son of Adam. A comparison with ch. v., however, shows that this is simply a parallel to the older line, the only difference being the introduction of two new members, Seth and Enosh,—and even these no more than a duplication of the names Cain and Adam (see Exeg. Notes), on the same principle as the "dummy" ancestors of the Arab genealogists.[1] The section iv. 25 f. contains, therefore, but the first links of a genealogical line parallel to that in vv. 1, 17 ff., the main part of which has been cut off by the Editor because of the reproduction of the same tree in ch. v. (P). The words which suggest a new branch of the Adamic race are readily recognised redactional additions (see Crit. Notes).

In this short passage there are found, moreover, two marked points of divergence from the general view of the

has urged (*Kurzer Hand-Comm.* pp. 14, 74), these passages do appear to interrupt the regular march of the narrative, and are further distinguished from the context by certain literary peculiarities (cf. Exeg. Notes). These arguments are hardly sufficient, however, to prove their secondary character. P's dominant interest is neither literary nor historical, but legislative. And this interest is not confined to the distinctively Levitical sections of the Code, but breaks through the historical narrative as well, the promulgation of leading religious ordinances being associated with important moments in the evolution of the history. Thus, the three fundamental institutions of Judaism—the keeping of the Sabbath, abstinence from blood, and circumcision—are connected respectively with the Creation (ii. 2 f.), the salvation of Noah from the Flood (ix. 1 ff.), and the promise of Isaac (xvii. 9 ff.). The association of the main principles of sacrifice with the original creation of man in God's image and the establishment of a new social order after the Flood is therefore in perfect keeping with P's historical method. On this understanding, the literary peculiarities present no grave difficulty, the "legal" complexion of the verses naturally affecting the terminology.

[1] Cf. W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*, 2nd ed. p. 11.

Jahvistic writer. In chs. ii., iii. the first man is consistently referred to by the generic title of הָאָדָם, "the man." This name appears likewise at the beginning of the Cain line (iv. 1). In ver. 25, however, we find the personal name אָדָם used, as in v. 1 (P). Further, the author of chs. ii., iii. uses the Divine name יהוה freely throughout these chapters, as in the rest of the Jahvistic narrative. In his view, this was the name by which God was known and invoked by His worshippers even from the beginning of history. In iv. 26, on the other hand, it is explicitly maintained that God was first worshipped by the name of Jahveh in the age of Enosh. In conformity with this view of religious history, God is called by the general name אֱלֹהִים in the previous verse. We have here, then, an approach to the standpoint of the Elohistic writer (E) and of P, according to both of whom the name Jahveh was unknown until the revelation of the God of Israel to Moses (Ex. iii. 13 f.).

Evidence on a larger scale is found in the fact, already recognised by Wellhausen (*Comp.* p. 9), that certain sections of the Jahvistic narrative "have no knowledge of the Flood." Thus, the sketch of civilisation in iv. 17 ff. excludes the idea of a sudden destruction of mankind, the three sons of Lamech being clearly regarded as the "fathers," *i.e.* the founders or originators, of the presently-existing order and arts of social life. Even the verses which now stand as the introduction to the story of the Flood (vi. 1–4) presuppose an unbroken continuity of human history, the intercourse of the angels with mortal women explaining the origin of the giant race of Nephilim, who lived long after the Flood (cf. Num. xiii. 33). The story of the sons of Noah (ix. 20 ff.) as evidently belongs to

a different stratum of tradition. The sons of Noah are here introduced as Shem, Japheth, and Canaan, the youngest (ver. 24); in the story of the Flood they are Shem, Ham, and Japheth (ix. 18). Here, too, they appear merely as the progenitors of the leading peoples of Palestine (cf. pp. 182 ff.); in the other narrative they are the ancestors of "the whole earth" (ix. 19). In harmony with this, the colouring of the one story is distinctively Palestinian (cf. Exeg. Notes); in the other, the local conditions are Mesopotamian. In like manner, the incident of the tower of Babel (xi. 1–9) finds no real place in the context of the Flood story.[1] It gives another, and different, explanation of the diffusion of the human race. After the Flood, according to that section of the narrative (ix. 19), the earth is naturally, though rapidly, divided among the sons of Noah. But in xi. 1–9 the dispersion is viewed as an abnormal departure in history—the Divine penalty for man's presumption. The story of the building of Babel, as recorded in this chapter, is at variance, further, with the tradition incorporated in the Jahvistic Table of the Nations (x. 10). The foundation of the city is here ascribed to mankind in general, while still living together in one common society, all speaking the same tongue. In x. 10, Babel is represented as the first capital of Nimrod, the Empire-builder. In at least one other respect the Jahvistic table differs from a subsequent section of the narrative. In x. 28, Sheba figures as one of the twelve sons of Joktan, son of Eber, the common ancestor of the Hebrew and Arab peoples; but in xxv. 3 he is the son of Jokshan, one of Abraham's sons by his wife Keturah.

[1] Cf. Well., *Comp.* pp. 12 f.; Budde, *Bibl. Urgesch.* pp. 371 ff.

On the other hand, the story of the Flood and the Jahvistic table are closely knit together. ix. 18 gives the names of the sons of Noah "that went forth of the ark" as Shem, Ham, and Japheth. Ver. 19 adds the note that "of these was the whole earth overspread." x. 1*b* speaks of "sons born to them after the Flood." The list of "sons" and their descendants in vv. 8 ff. is the natural sequel.

We must, of course, allow for the presence of discrepancies, and even conflicting elements, in narratives which rest ultimately on oral tradition. Still, a literary work must be governed by a certain unity of plan and structure. And the various divergences which we have noted are marked and persistent enough, in our judgment, to warrant the inference that we have before us a separate narrative, which has afterwards been adopted into the main body of J, and which we may conveniently designate by the name J^2, which Budde has already given it (*Bibl. Urgesch.* pp. 210 ff.).

To this source we assign iv. 25 f. (the beginning of the Seth line); vi. 5–8, vii. 1–5, 7–10, 12, 16*c*, 17*b*, 22 f., viii. 2*b*, 3*a*, 6–12, 13*b* (the Flood story); viii. 20–22 (Noah's sacrifice); ix. 18 f. (the sons of Noah); x. 1*b*, 8–19, 21, 25–30 (the Table of the Nations). On the various alterations and omissions which this source has suffered through the process of redaction, cf. Crit. Notes.

The sources P and J^2 having been thus disentangled, there remain ii. 4*b*–iii. 24 (the making of the world and man, with the temptation and fall); iv. 1–24 (the beginnings of civilisation, with the story of Cain and Abel); v. 28 *fin.*, 29 (the birth of Noah); vi. 1–4 (the inter-

course of the angels with "the daughters of man"); ix. 20–27 (the drunkenness of Noah, with the curse of Canaan and the blessings of Shem and Japheth); xi. 1–9 (the tower of Babel); and xi. 28–30 (the death of Haran, and the marriages of Abram and Nahor).

Even within the limits of this narrower *residuum*, the sequence of events is by no means clear. Thus, the scene of chs. ii. iii. is Eden "in the East," whereas ch. iv. breathes the atmosphere of the Arabian desert, the tragedy of Cain and Abel being enacted on the borderland of Palestine, where the cultivated soil passes into the waste desert, and vv. 17 ff. tracing the origin and development of Bedouin civilisation (cf. pp. 9 f.). Ch. vi. 1–4 is an unrelated torso; but the section is doubtless a fragment of old Canaanite family tradition (cf. p. 13). ix. 20 ff. also locate us on Palestinian soil, Noah's home being here הָאֲדָמָה, the cultivated ground of Palestine, the "father" of whose vine-culture he is (cf. Exeg. Notes). xi. 1–9, on the other hand, carry us back to Babylonia.

In this floating mass of diverse tradition can any solid nucleus be found?

It has been pointed out by Gunkel (*Hand-Komm.* pp. 23 f.) that ch. ii. shows traces of a double narration. In vv. 4*b*–7, 9*a*, 18–24 we have a homogeneous account of the making of the world, with the trees and animals, man and woman, without any reference to Eden and its garden. The local colouring is, instead, that of the desert (cf. Exeg. Notes). The verses, too, are cast in a certain definite mould, the formula יָצַר מִן־הָאֲדָמָה being used of the "fashioning" both of man and of the animals and the phrase מִן־הָאֲדָמָה recurring likewise in connection with the growth of the trees (vv. 7, 9, 19).

Gunkel fails to carry the analysis farther; but his suggestion seems to give the key to the problem before us. The natural sequel to the formation of the woman is the propagation of the species by the birth of a son. This sequel we find in iv. 1, which records the birth of Cain. The story of Cain and Abel, as is generally recognised, reflects a later stage of development (cf. *infra*, p. 9). Disregarding this section, therefore, for the present, we find in iv. 17–24, with its sketch of the origin and progress of desert civilisation, a fitting sequel to ver. 1. In these verses, then, we have a clear and consistent account of the making of the world, and the beginnings of civilisation, from the desert point of view.[1]

The position of the different narratives incorporated by J seems most satisfactorily explained by the view that the author had before him such a solid nucleus of (written) tradition, round which he gathered the main body of his work.

Of the new materials introduced by J, and brought by him into relation with the older nucleus, the story of Eden finds its appropriate position in the account of the creation of the world and man. This narrative, however, is not altogether homogeneous. Budde (*Bibl. Urgesch* pp. 46 ff.) has justly called attention to the discrepancy involved in the two trees of the garden. The whole tenor of the temptation story implies the existence of but

[1] We thus recognise an element of truth in recent "Arabian" theories of the Biblical *Urgeschichte*. But the attempt to find Arabian scenery throughout these chapters (cf. esp. Cheyne's arts. in *Ency. Bibl.*, and his recently published *Traditions and Beliefs*, pp. 85 ff.) can only be carried through at the cost of extreme violence to the text. A just view, to our mind, should recognise differences of local atmosphere in the narratives. A certain number of the traditions belong to the desert; but others are clearly Canaanite, and others Babylonian (cf. *infra*).

one tree, that "of the knowledge of good and evil," which stood "in the midst of the garden" (iii. 3, where Eve repeats the exact words of God). The temptation was to eat of that tree. And according to Jahveh's intention, the eating of the tree was to be followed by the penalty of death. But the presence of the "tree of life," that is, the tree that conferred immortal life on those who ate of it (cf. iii. 22), would have frustrated the Divine purpose. The man could easily have insured himself against the death threatened by Jahveh, by eating of the adjoining tree as well. We have really two independent ideas side by side, the one that life is the reward of obedience, the other that life is the natural result of eating of the "tree of life." The conjunction of two such contrasted ideas can hardly be original, — especially as in both the instances where the "tree of life" is found, it has all the appearance of a later intrusion. In ii. 9 the "tree of life" usurps the place of the "tree of knowledge," which actually stood "in the midst of the garden" (cf. iii. 3), while iii. 22, 24 are an evident variant to ver. 23 (cf. Crit. Notes).

Budde (*Bibl. Urgesch.* pp. 81 f., 23 ff.) finds in the verses which speak of the "tree of life" fragments of a parallel version of the story of the Fall, from the pen of J^2. But the religious tone of the verses seems to militate strongly against such an idea. In two of the traditions incorporated by J, vi. 1–4 and xi. 1–9, we find reflections of a crude, almost polytheistic, conception of God, which clearly belong to an older world of religious thought and feeling, not yet brought into true vitalising touch with the purer Hebrew atmosphere. iii. 22, with its lingering ideas of a God jealous of His Divine supremacy, and

discussing His plans and purposes with a court of heavenly beings similar to Himself, inevitably recalls these older sections. In our judgment, the parallel to the Fall story suggested by the fragments in ii. 9 and iii. 22, 24, belongs to the same stream of tradition. With this would agree the fact that it shows more resemblance to cognate heathen traditions and conceptions than the main narrative of Gen. ii. iii. (cf. pp. 57 ff.). It represents probably the original form of the tradition, as it entered the current of Israelitic thought, whereas the main narrative embodies the tradition moulded and re-cast by contact with the Hebrew spirit. The intrusion of these fragments of the older tradition is due, doubtless, to a later editor or reader who knew the parallel version, and missed the "tree of life" from the narrative. (Minor points are treated in the Critical Notes.)

The story of Cain and Abel (iv. 2–16) has long been a *crux criticorum*. The background of the narrative is one, not of primitive antiquity, but of fully developed social life and order. The two brothers have already their definite vocations,—and these not the primitive callings of desert nomads, but the more advanced pursuits of the settled agriculturist and shepherd (ver. 2), to whom the wandering life of the desert is a terrible thing (ver. 14). The earth, too, is already filled with a considerable population (ver. 14 *fin.*). The narrative also shows acquaintance with religious practices (*e.g.* sacrifice, vv. 3 f.) and social institutions (*e.g.* the law of blood-revenge, vv. 10 ff.) of established tribal civilisation. It seems difficult to believe, then, that this narrative was the original sequel to the story of Eden. As little relation does it bear to the order of things portrayed in the original nucleus

(vv. 17 ff.). We leave untouched the discrepancy involved in the contrasted pictures of Cain the agriculturist, degraded into the fugitive nomad (vv. 2 ff.), and Cain the city-builder (ver. 17*b*), the latter clause being a doubtful element in the text (cf. Crit. Notes). But the entire atmosphere of vv. 2 ff. is different from that of vv. 17 ff. In the latter section it is wholly of the desert. What is here set forth is the origin and development of Bedouin civilisation, and the true hero is the Bedouin chief, who prides himself on being at war with every man, and exacting vengeance seventy-fold, and with ruthless severity (cf. pp. 204 f.). But to the author of vv. 2 ff. the desert life is "most miserable of all"—homeless, godless, and helplessly exposed to hardship and death.[1]

On this ground the section is very generally regarded as a later addition to the main body of J. In Budde's view (*Bibl. Urgesch.* pp. 183 ff.) the story is an elaborate redactional link, wrought for the deliberate purpose of supplying a bond of connection between J and J². The Flood was supposed to destroy the whole of Cain's race. In accordance, therefore, with the current conception of the visitation of the parents' sins upon the children (cf. Ex. xx. 5, etc.), it was inferred that Cain's guilt was the primal cause of his children's destruction. The key to his guilt was found in Lamech's song (ver. 24), which was interpreted to mean that Cain too had slain his man. The murdered man could only have been his brother, to whom was applied the name הֶבֶל, a modification of

[1] Cf. the exhaustive studies of Budde, *Bibl. Urgesch.* pp. 188 ff., and Stade, *ZATW*, 1894, pp. 259 f. The above paragraph is simply a digest of their arguments.

יָבָל, "the shepherd," with the underlying suggestion of the vanity and brevity of his life (cf. Exeg. Note on iv. 2).

All such constructions of primitive history—as the product of deliberate reflection—are to be condemned on this ground alone, that tribal legend is a gradual and almost unconscious growth. From whatever source the story came, it is a genuine example of tribal tradition. Even if it be, as Budde holds, a later element in the Jahvistic narrative, the tradition itself is early (cf. pp. 189 f.). And at the latest the incorporation of the tradition into the main body of J would appear to have taken place *before* the writing of J^2, whose revision of the history seeks to obscure the descent of the human race from Cain. But against the theory of later insertion itself there are weighty arguments. The story constantly recalls ch. iii. (cf. especially vv. 9, 10, 11 with iii. 9 f., 11 ff., 14 ff.). This might, as Budde argues (*Bibl. Urgesch.* p. 188), be the result of a deliberate moulding of the story after ch. iii. But the literary style seems too characteristic for a mere imitation. The tracing of the secret workings of sinful feeling and passion, their development to the final tragic *dénouement*, and the picture of the defiant, yet fearful, conscience of the sinful man, inevitably suggest the same master-hand that penned ch. iii., "the pearl of Genesis" (Gunkel).

Our view of the growth of the Jahvistic narrative seems to yield a more natural solution of the difficulties. On this hypothesis, the author of the main body of J had before him an earlier narrative of the making of the world and man, and the origins of civilisation, from the desert point of view, round which as a nucleus he

gathered his other materials, giving them what seemed to him the most suitable position in the system. Thus, as we have seen, the story of Eden found its appropriate setting in the account of the Creation (ii. 4*b* ff.). On the same principle, the most natural place for the introduction of the tragedy of Cain and Abel was after iv. 1, which told of the birth of Cain, the firstborn son of "the man." (The relation of the two traditions will be discussed at a later stage.) If J followed this method, the discrepancies which we feel between chs. iii. and iv. would hardly be present to his mind. Indeed, the story of Cain and his bloody crime, with its terrible picture of the developing power and gravity of sin, would appear a most appropriate sequel to the story of the first sin in ch. iii.

As the legend of Cain and Abel was related to the record of the birth of Cain, so were the traditions associated with the name of Noah linked to the old Lamech line. The father of Noah can hardly have been other than Lamech, in the Jahvistic narrative as well as in P (v. 28). The missing words in J must have run somewhat as follows: "And Lamech knew Zillah (?) his wife again, and she conceived, and bare" (cf. Crit. Notes). But this new section appears rather as a graft upon the older stem. iv. 21 f. read like a complete whole. The leading crafts of desert civilisation are there traced back to their respective "fathers." The toil-burdened Lamech of v. 29 is, moreover, a very different character from the warlike chieftain of iv. 23 f. And the sequel (ix. 20–27) introduces us to an altogether different world from that described in iv. 17 ff. We have here passed outside of the desert horizon into the cultivated plains of

Palestine, with its progressive civilisation. This cycle of tradition evidently forms part of the new material which J has added to the older nucleus of desert story.

Of the other narratives incorporated by J, the short section vi. 1–4 has given rise to most discussion. Vv. 1 f. belong to the same order of tradition as iii. 22, 24. Here, too, we have Jahveh surrounded by a court of heavenly beings, to whom is actually attributed the possibility of sexual intercourse with women—a crude idea of the Godlike nature which is found nowhere else in the Old Testament, and is paralleled only in heathen conceptions of the gods (cf. Exeg. Notes). The true sequel to these verses is found in ver. 4, which reports the result of these connections—the birth of the Nephilim —without any suggestion of moral condemnation. These Nephilim, indeed, are regarded as "the men of renown of old." In all probability the verses are a fragment from the old family traditions of Canaanite princes, who were proud of their descent from Godlike beings (cf. Exeg. Notes). Over against this, in sharp contrast, stands ver. 3, reporting the Divine condemnation and punishment of "the transgression." The verse is most probably to be regarded as J's comment on the old tradition, by which he gives a moral complexion to the story, introducing it indeed as a parallel to the narrative of the Fall, affording another explanation of the origin of sin and death (cf. pp. 163 f.). Possibly he intended to replace ver. 3 by the new addition. The omission of ver. 4 certainly yields a more consistent narrative from his point of view. The original story may have been still further curtailed. If so, the rest has been lost, while ver. 3 found

its way back into the body of the text. (On other details, cf. Crit. Notes.)[1]

The story of the tower of Babel (xi. 1–9) is also highly anthropomorphic. Here again we find Jahveh actuated by strong jealousy for His honour, fearful lest the sons of men should usurp too conspicuous a place, and planning with His court how to circumvent their designs. In the orignal form of the tradition, the anthropomorphism would appear to have been even more pronounced (cf. Crit. Notes). The narrative thus likewise belongs to the same category as the fragment represented by iii. 22, 24.

As the transition to Abram, the primary Jahvistic narrative in all probability contained a genealogical tree, after the same style as iv. 17 ff., tracing the descent of the patriarch from Noah. The tree itself has disappeared, owing to the elaborate line of descent in xi. 10 ff. (P), on the same principle as the curtailment of the Seth line in iv. 25 ff. Traces, however, may still be found in x. 21, 24 f. The phrase אֲבִי כָל־בְּנֵי־עֵבֶר in x. 21 is plainly out of place after לְשֵׁם יֻלַּד גַּם־הוּא, and is generally omitted as a mere gloss. It would be admirably in place, however, as the introduction to a genealogical line resembling that in iv. 1, 17 ff. The phrase, too, recalls the similar phraseology in iv. 20 ff. To the same context we may plausibly assign x. 24, an evident link in a genealogical line, which is quite out of keeping with the general structure of the Jahvistic Table of Nations, and is therefore usually regarded as a redac-

[1] The most acute criticism of this section is likewise to be found in Budde, *Bibl. Urgesch.* pp. 1 ff. Cf. also Well., *Comp.* pp. 306 ff., and the Commentaries.

tional "stitch" (Well., *Comp.* p. 7; cf. Budde, *Bibl. Urgesch.* p. 250, and Gunk. and Holz., *Comms.*, *s.l.*). The style of the verse is precisely similar to that of iv. 18. To this genealogical tree may likewise belong the original substance of ver. 25. On the reconstruction of the text, see Crit. Notes.[1]

The results of the foregoing analysis are shown in the Translation in Appendix A.

[1] Budde assigns a tree of seven members to J^2 (*Bibl. Urgesch.* pp. 413 ff.), on the assumed ground that throughout these chapters P is exclusively dependent on this source (cf. pp. 27 f.). But as no further trace of J^2 is found, such a tree seems needless in his narrative. On the other hand, as the connecting link between Noah and Abram, it is practically indispensable to the primary Jahvistic document.

CHAPTER II.

Age and Relation of the Documents.

The study even of so circumscribed a section of the Book of Genesis is enough to give us, at least, a general idea of the literary character of the respective documents. The narrative of P is formal, precise, and logical: full of minute details, systematically arranged and developed, for the most part under genealogical and statistical rubrics. Apart from ch. i., the very uniformity of whose style gives it a simple and stately dignity of its own, the document has little literary attractiveness. The same phrases meet us, again and again, with monotonous regularity. There is no attempt to depict the subtler shades of life and feeling. The rich colouring which lends such charms to J's narrative is likewise wanting. Instead of the free and joyous movements of full-blooded life, we have here but "the naked facts, the dry bones without flesh and blood" (Dillmann). The same character belongs to the religious representations of P. The anthropomorphisms which make the Jahveh of J so real and personal a Being, are almost entirely eliminated. If they do persist, they are but forms of speech which remain merely as "survivals" of a bygone age of religious feeling and imagination. The God of P is a far more abstract Being—a transcendently exalted

Sovereign, who wills and commands and it is done, whose presence men may approach with reverence and awe, but who no longer enters into those free and confidential relations of friendship with His creatures in which the Jahvist writer takes such delight. "I am God Almighty: walk before Me, and be thou perfect" (xvii. 1) is a characteristic expression of the religious and moral ideals of this writer.

On the other hand, the Jahvistic narrative is full of literary charm. The style is free and flowing, singularly devoid of fixed formulæ and stereotyped phraseology, and abounding in poetic and picturesque descriptions, richly varied and warmly coloured. J's delineations of character have commanded especial admiration. They reveal the most delicate insight into the deep things of the soul, with consummate power of expressing, in the fewest words, the finest shades of feeling and motive. To him, pre-eminently, we owe that gallery of master-portraits for which the Book of Genesis is so famous. In the pages of the Jahvist we find life, in all its many-sided interest and beauty, adorning our common stage. J's religious representations are in keeping with his delineations of life. The Jahveh of J is a God of strongly-marked personal character, who thinks and feels and wills, is grieved and angry, repents and swears, who even comes down to earth, and works, and walks, and talks with men, reviews their doings, and confounds their plans (cf. ii. 7 ff., iii. 8 ff., vi. 5 ff., xi. 5 ff.).

Even from this general sketch of their characteristic traits, the literary affinities of the two documents will be apparent. The narrative of P plainly belongs to the same literary class as Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah,

where we find the same love of detail and systematic arrangement, and the same style of classification as in P (cf. the genealogical lines in 1 Chron. i.–ix. and xxiii.; the detailed "courses" of the priests and Levites in 1 Chron. xxiv.–xxvi.; the lists of returned exiles in Ezra ii. and viiii. and Neh. vii. and xii.; the details of the rebuilding of the Temple in Neh. iii.; etc.). Other traces of literary kinship are found in the priestly interest that dominates these books, as well as the transcendently exalted character with which God is invested. Here, too, He is a holy God high and lifted up, whom men approach by worship and sacrifice and religious institutions, rather than with the loving confidence of friends. On the other hand, J belongs to the same category as the historical books from Judges to Kings, with their interest in life and action, their more "personal" conceptions of Jahveh and His relation to men, and their easy and natural literary style. This raises the presumption that the two documents belong respectively to the same general age as their literary affinities.

The presumption is strengthened by a study of the language of the two documents. It is, we admit, dangerous to rely too much on the argument from language. The choice of words is determined by many other influences than general currency. The subject-matter, and the individuality of the author, and his literary aims and ideals, are all factors to be taken into account. Thus, for the ends they severally have in view, a late writer may have recourse to archaisms, or an early and late writer may alike use the same rare words. The evidence from language might thus lead us far astray. Nevertheless, within limits, this argument

has its rightful place. Similar phenomena, recurring through successive chapters, do imply a *vera causa*. And this we find in the documents we are at present studying.

Apart from the poetic passage iii. 14–19, which shows quite an unusual number of rare words (אֵיבָה, גָּחוֹן, שׁוּף, עִצָּבוֹן, הֵרָיוֹן, תְּשׁוּקָה, דַּרְדַּר, זֵעָה, on which see Exeg. Notes), J employs mainly the common vocabulary of the classical age of Hebrew historical writing. Of rare forms we can trace only שִׂיחַ (ii. 5, xxi. 15; Job xxx. 4, 7), אֵד (ii. 6; elsewhere only Job xxxvi. 27), נֶחְמָד (ii. 9, iii. 6; Ps. xix. 11, and Prov. xxi. 20), כְּנֶגְדּוֹ (only in ii. 18 and 20, though נֶגֶד is frequently found elsewhere with other preps.), לַהַט (iii. 24 †), יָדוֹן (vi. 3; but the reading is doubtful), לָבַן, denom. fr. לְבֵנָה (only in xi. 3 and Ex. v. 7 and 14), חֵמָר (another foreign word, found only in xi. 3, xiv. 10, and Ex. ii. 3), and בָּצַר (found in Niph. only xi. 6 and Job xlii. 2; in Piel only Isa. xxii. 10 and Jer. li. 53).

J² has fewer rare words. On the other hand, he has several which come into general use only in Deut. and the greater prophets. Of these rare and later words we enumerate: יֵצֶר, of the imaginations of the heart (vi. 5, viii. 21; Deut. xxxi. 21; Isa. xxvi. 3, and 1 Chron. xxviii. 9, xxix. 18), יְקוּם (only vii. 4, 23 and Deut. xi. 6), טָרָף (viii. 11 †), מִכְסֶה (viii. 13; elsewhere only in P, of the covering of the Tabernacle), הַנִּיחֹחַ (viii. 21, and frequently in P and Ezek.), and קֹר (viii. 22 †).

P abounds in forms which are found throughout the later literature. From the chapters at present under survey, we subjoin the following list, appealing for details to the Exeg. Notes:—

בָּרָא (i. 1, etc.): in the Qal form first found with undoubted certainty in Ezek.; frequently in DtIsa. and later writers.

בֹּהוּ (i. 2): elsewhere only in one late passage of Isa. and a corrupt text of Jer.

תֹּהוּ (i. 2): in the later source of 1 Sam., the "Song of Moses" (Deut. xxxii. 10), Isa., both primary and secondary, Job, and Psalms.

תְּהוֹם (i. 2 and vii. 11): elsewhere in the "Blessing of Jacob" (Gen. xlix.), "Song of Moses" (Ex. xv.), Deut., Amos, and several times in Ezek., DtIsa., Job, etc.

רָחַף (i. 2): elsewhere only in Jer. xxiii. 9 and "Song of Moses" (Deut. xxxii. 11).

בדל (i. 4, 6 ff.): elsewhere in Deut., a Dtic. passage of 1 Kings, Ezek., DtIsa., Chron., and other late books.

רָקִיעַ (i. 6 f. etc.): elsewhere in Ezek., Psalms, and Daniel.

קוה (i. 9 f.): elsewhere Jer. iii. 17 and Isa. lx. 9.

מִקְוֶה (i. 9 f.): elsewhere Ex. vii. 19 and Lev. xi. 36 (both P).

יַבָּשָׁה (i. 9 f. etc.): apart fr. P, only in Dtic. and later passages.

תַּדְשֵׁא (i. 11): †, though Qal is found in Joel ii. 22.

מִין (i. 11 and frequently): apart fr. P, only in passages influenced by him.

מְאֹרוֹת (i. 14 ff.): apart fr. P, only in Ezek. xxxii. 8; Prov. xv. 30; Ps. lxxiv. 16, xc. 8.

שָׂרַץ and שֶׁרֶץ (i. 20, etc.): apart fr. P, only in Ezek. xlvii. 9; Ps. cv. 30, and Deut. xiv. 19 (from P).

תַּנִּין (i. 21): apart fr. P, only "Song of Moses" (Deut. xxxii. 33), Ezek., later portions of Isa. and Jer., Job vii. 12, and a few Psalms.

רָמַשׂ (i. 21, etc.): apart fr. P, only Deut. iv. 18 (late), Ezek., and Psalms.

פְּרוּ וּרְבוּ (i. 22, etc.): together only in Jer. and Ezek. —apart fr. P.

נְקֵבָה (i. 27, etc.): apart fr. P, only in Deut. iv. 16 and Jer. xxxi. 21 (both later).

אָכְלָה (i. 30, etc.): apart fr. P, only Jer. xii. 9 and several texts in Ezek.

תּוֹלְדֹת (v. 1, etc.): apart fr. P, only Ruth iv. 18 and several passages in 1 Chron.

גֹּפֶר (vi. 14), כֹּפֶר (vi. 14), and צֹהַר (vi. 16): all †.

נָוָע (vi. 17, etc.): apart fr. P, only in Lam. i. 19; Zech. xiii. 8; Ps. lxxxviii. 16; Ps. civ. 29, and 8 times in Job.

הֵקִים בְּרִית = establish a covenant (vi. 18, etc.): apart fr. P, only Ezek. xvi. 60, 62.

חַת (ix. 2): only here and Job xli. 25.[1]

The force of the argument from language cannot, therefore, be gainsaid. The cumulative evidence of the words used by the different writers points us irresistibly to the classical age of historical writing (the age which produced books like Judges, Samuel, and Kings) for the authorship of J, to a somewhat later date for J[2], and to the later age of formal and stereotyped prose literature (which culminated in the Chronicler and Ezra) for P.

There are certain indications of date likewise to be found within these chapters, which bear out the same general result.

In J the Palestinian colouring of iv. 2 ff. and ix.

[1] The argument from language is carried throughout P in Driver, *Introd.* 7th ed. pp. 130 ff.; Holz., *Hex.* pp. 339 ff.; and Giesebrecht, *ZATW*, 1881, pp. 188 ff. The same phenomena appear in the more extended study of the document.

20 ff. presupposes the settlement of Israel in Canaan. With this correspond many similar indications in other sections of the narrative (xii. 6, xiii. 7, l. 10; Num. xxii. 1, etc.). To a date very considerably later than the events narrated points also the frequent mention of conditions persisting "unto this day" (Gen. xix. 37 f., etc.). More exact indications are not found in the chapters immediately under review. We must content ourselves, therefore, with a bare reference to the facts noted by scholars: the inclusion in J of a list of kings of Edom "before there reigned any king over the children of Israel" (Gen. xxxvi. 31 ff.), with other more doubtful suggestions (Gen. xxvii. 40; Josh. vi. 26), pointing to a date later than the early monarchy, but in any case earlier than Deuteronomy, whose historical narratives are based on J and E, and earlier, too, than the first literary prophets, who show unmistakable acquaintance with the Jahvistic traditions, and most probably with the written narrative (cf. Amos ii. 9 f.; Hos. ix. 10, xii. 3, 12; Mic. vi. 4 ff., etc.), in other words, to the most generally accepted date—*circa* 850 B.C., or very shortly after. The prominent position assigned to Judah and his families in the document (Gen. xxxviii., xliii.–xliv.) further suggests that the home of the narrative was the southern country of Judah.[1]

The date of the sections which we have singled out as the older nucleus used by J will then fall somewhat earlier. The most probable date would seem to be the reign of Solomon, to which we may plausibly ascribe the first collections of Israelite song and tradition

[1] Cf. Driver, *Introd.* 7th ed. pp. 122 f.; *Oxford Hexateuch*, pp. 104 ff. (So Ewald, Dill., Well., Stade, Budde, etc.) Ctr. Kuenen, *Hexateuch*, pp. 248 ff.

found in the *Book of Jashar* and the *Book of the Wars of Jahveh*. A reign so peaceful and glorious as that of Solomon was peculiarly suited for such literary works as these. Thus the foundations would be laid for the larger and more comprehensive histories of a later age.

It seems possible to reach a more exact determination of the date of the secondary element in J (J^2). The earlier writers show little acquaintance with the geography of the distant East. J knows of Babylon, indeed; but its location, like that of Eden, is only "somewhere in the East" (cf. ii. 8 with xi. 2). Even the prophets who foretell the Assyrian aggressions, and the ruin which was to overtake Israel at their hands, know little of Assyria itself, and its kings and cities (cf. Amos v. 27, vii. 17; Hos. vii. 11, viii. 9, xi. 5 ff.). On the other hand, J^2 is well acquainted with the chief cities of Babylonia and Assyria, and shows likewise a far more detailed knowledge of their traditions and myths than the earlier Jahvist (cf. pp. 38 ff.). This widening of the field of knowledge we can only explain by the supposition that in the interval the Assyrian Empire had crossed the horizon of Israel. This would carry us to the beginning of the reign of Menahem, king of Israel (*c.* 745), when Tiglath-Pileser III. first interfered in the affairs of the Western kingdom. But, if the narrative be Judean, as is most probable, we should find the date somewhat after 735–734, when Ahaz, king of Judah, purchased the help of Tiglath-Pileser against the allied armies of Israel and Syria in the Syro-Ephraimitic war, in consequence of which the Assyrian king threw his forces against Damascus and Israel, and Ahaz became his vassal (2 Kings xvi. 7 ff.). An indication of the influence which Assyria

began from this time to exert over Judah is found in the "altar" which Ahaz caused Urijah the priest to execute after the pattern of the Assyrian altar at Damascus (2 Kings xvi. 10 ff.). Such friendly relations between the king and his leading counsellors, and the Assyrian king and his ministers, could not fail to give the more educated minds in Judah a certain familiarity, at least, with Assyrian geography and tradition. On the other hand, the narrative of J^2, bearing as it does the Assyrian stamp, could hardly have been written after the invasion of Sennacherib (701 B.C.), which roused the people of Judah to stubborn defiance of Assyria and Assyrian influence. The detailed mention of the four chief cities (Gen. x. 11 f.) which were united by Sennacherib[1] to form the "great city" of Nineveh (x. 12*b*; cf. Jonah i. 2 ff.), points in the same direction. A writer subsequent to Sennacherib's building enterprises would most naturally have spoken of the "great city" of Nineveh alone (cf. Jonah, *l.c.*). Another suggestion of the same date is found in the list of Arabian names (x. 26 ff.). As the old Arabian inscriptions show, the chief power in earlier days was the great Minæan kingdom, which flourished for some six hundred years (*circa* 1350–750 B.C.),[2] till it was shattered and replaced in its position of supremacy by the younger and more aggressive Sabæan kingdom. A writer earlier than 750 would hardly have overlooked so important a power. The various items of evidence thus converge on a date somewhere between 734 and 701,

[1] Cf. *KB*, ii. pp. 116 f.

[2] Cf. the latest investigation by Otto Weber, "Studien zur Südarabischen Alterthumskunde" in *Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1901, i. pp. 5 ff.

but most probably while Ahaz the friend of the Assyrian still reigned, that is, as nearly as possible, 725 B.C.

For P, too, the list of names in ch. x. affords certain indications of date. As pointed out in the Exeg. Notes, the mention of Gomer among the "sons of Japheth" necessitates a later date than 677 B.C., when the Gimirrai first came into contact with the Assyrian power. To attain a place alongside of such well-defined nations as Madai, Javan, etc., with kindred nations attached as "sons" of the parent stock (x. 3), Gomer must indeed have already found a settled home. This carries us to a still later date, namely, subsequent to the defeat of the Kimmerians by Alyattes, grandson of Ardys, who expelled them from Sardes, and forced them back to Cappadocia, where at length they found a home (*c.* 580 B.C.). Other names on the list lead to the same point: *e.g.* Javan, with his "sons" (x. 4), presupposing the Ionian colonisation of Asia Minor and the Mediterranean coasts during the 6th and 5th cents. B.C.; Madai or the Medes, who first came into historical importance towards the close of the 8th cent. (cf. Exeg. Notes), and enter the stage of Old Testament history in connection with the deportation of Israel to the lands of the East (2 Kings xvii. 6); and Magog, Meshech, Togarmah, and Elishah, which may themselves be older, but appear among the nations of the Old Testament for the first time in Ezekiel's dirge over Tyre (Ezek. xxvii. 13 ff.), which must be dated subsequently to the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. The *terminus a quo* for this element in P cannot thus be sought earlier than the exilic ministry of Ezekiel.

The attempt to arrive at a more precise date for P would carry us into the full ocean of Hexateuchal

criticism, which lies quite beyond our present purpose. Suffice it to say, that all the evidence contained within the bounds of these chapters points in the direction of the critical position of Wellhausen and his school. We shall, therefore, do no more than refer to the full treatment of the question in Wellhausen's *Prolegomena*, Holzinger's *Hexateuch*, Driver's *Introduction*, the *Oxford Hexateuch*, and similar treatises, and assert that P, stripped of later accretions, was the Lawbook read by Ezra on the first day of the seventh month (old New Year's Day) in the year 444 B.C. (see Neh. viii.), and composed a few years earlier by an inner circle of priestly writers in Babylonia, more probably than by Ezra himself, who played rather the rôle of the authority who promulgated the law, as Josiah had done in connection with the Deuteronomic movement two centuries before.

We are now able to consider the relations of the documents to one another.

The earliest part of our present Genesis, as we have argued above, is that which we have called the original nucleus—a collection of traditions of the origin of the universe and the beginnings of civilisation from the desert point of view, together with the poetical passage iv. 23 f., which probably existed originally independent of its present setting.[1] Around this nucleus the Jahvistic writer (J) has gathered a *corpus* of other traditions and poems, partly from Babylonian and Canaanite sources, and from ch. xi. onwards from the main stream of

[1] Cf. the *Song of Deborah* (Judg. v.) and David's *Song of the Bow* (2 Sam. i. 17 ff.), which must also have existed in original independence of their present frameworks. In Arabic collections of tribal songs (*e.g.* the *Lays of the Hudhailites*) we find the same literary phenomenon.

Israel's own traditions (cf. pp. 6 ff.). This work represents our primary Jahvistic document.

The secondary element (J^2) consists in the main of two independent additions to the subject-matter of J, namely, the Flood story and the earlier table of the descendants of Noah. As an introduction, however, the author has given a revised version of the genealogical line in iv. 17 ff. (J). Of this line only the first two links have survived. But, to all appearance, the "revision" simply consists in the repetition of the first two names of the original list, Seth and Enosh being synonyms for Cain and Adam (cf. p. 2).

According to Budde (*Bibl. Urgesch.* pp. 464 ff.), J^2 was originally much more extensive than its present form would indicate. Starting from the assumption that, for the early narratives of Genesis, the literary source of P is this later Jahvistic narrative, he would assign to it the story of Enoch (v. 22 ff.), an addition to P's bare list of names and figures which he finds quite out of place in such a writer, the parallel to the story of the Fall represented by the fragments in ii. 9 and iii. 22, 24, and also by the name אֱלֹהִים in the collocation יהוה אֱלֹהִים (cf. Crit. Notes); and likewise a version of the creation of the heavens and earth, in eight distinct acts, which formed the basis of P's subsequent "seven days" scheme. We have already offered objection to his assignation of the parallel story of the Fall to J^2 (pp. 8 f.). His further arguments seem equally groundless. The style of the Enoch section (v. 22 ff.) is quite characteristic of P. The phrase יִתְהַלֶּךְ אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים recurs in vi. 9 (in reference to Noah's piety), and nowhere else. Nor is it true criticism

to assume that such an addition is out of keeping with P's scheme. The lists of names supply but the chronological framework. P is much more interested in the narratives which break through the rigid fetters. Thus we find the dry lists expanding into broad narrative in the story of the Flood (vi. 9 ff.), the migrations of the family of Terah (xi. 31 f.), and throughout the document. It is in entire harmony with P's dominant interests, then, that he should have interrupted the succession of mere names to tell this story of Enoch, the man who "walked with God," and whose piety was rewarded by a deathless translation. For the existence of a parallel version of creation in J^2, which formed the basis of Gen. i., there is no evidence. Had such a version existed, it is difficult to believe that it could have disappeared so completely. The beginning of the genealogical tree of J^2, for example, has survived in spite of ch. v. The Creation account of J^2, had it really existed, must also surely have left some trace behind. As we believe, the assumption on which Budde's theory rests is mistaken. P does indeed depend on J^2—but not on him alone. There is equally good evidence for his dependence on the primary narrative of J as well (cf. *infra*). And, as the following chapter will attempt to prove in detail, he derived much of his material—including the general scheme of creation in ch. i., and probably also the story of Enoch—from quite another source. In the absence of definite proof, then, we confine the document J^2 to the limits suggested by its present appearance.

When P was in process of composition, the Jahvistic narrative had thus been long extant in both its elements

—these, too, already bound together, and united with the Elohistic narrative and the Deuteronomic Code, to form a broad literary unity. How, then, does P stand related to the earlier narrative?

It has been shown by Wellhausen (*Prol.*[3] pp. 340 ff.) and subsequent scholars, as indeed we might naturally have assumed, that P presupposes the Jahvistic narrative throughout. Together with the Elohistic document, that narrative is the principal quarry from which the later writer draws his materials. But these he uses absolutely according to his own plan, selecting here, and amplifying there, and building all together into a new structure designed and reared by himself.

The literary method of P in relation to his authorities is seen at work from the beginning. The simple picture of creation as the appearance of an oasis in the desert gives place to the stately march of creative activity in ch. i., which appeared to the writer more worthy of the supreme Creator. The naïvely anthropomorphic descriptions of the fashioning of the first man and his wife (ii. 7 ff.) are eliminated—doubtless as derogatory to the exalted character of God. The idyllic picture of Paradise, where unfallen man walked with Jahveh as friend in happy intercourse with Friend, is likewise passed by. Even the tragedy of the entrance of sin and death finds no place in P—the story is too anthropomorphic in its cast. The murder of Abel is likewise omitted—partly on that ground, and partly, doubtless, because the motive on which the tragedy turns is the sacrifice of the two brothers, a rite which P assumes as non-existent until the Levitical law-giving through Moses. Only when we pass to the first line of patriarchs do we find

correspondence between P and the earlier narrative For, as Buttmann pointed out as early as 1828 (*Mythologus*, i. pp. 170 f.), the two lines in chs. iv. and v. are but different versions of one and the same original (see the detailed comparison in Exeg. Notes). Here, plainly, P uses J^2 as his basis. Like him, he gives a list of ten patriarchs, of whom the first two are the Seth and Enosh of J^2. The priestly writer does not, however, merely transcribe the earlier list of names. He alters them somewhat freely (cf. Exeg. Notes). The grounds of his alterations are not always apparent, though in certain instances these may be conjectured with considerable probability. Thus, for example, the alteration of Cain into Kenan was doubtless intended to conceal the appearance of the murderer Cain among the patriarchs who "saw many days," and were then gathered to their fathers in peace. The change in the order of Enoch's descent (ctr. v. 18 with iv. 18) was also, probably, intended to remove that man of God still further from even the appearance of connection with the murderer. The plausible interpretations which Budde (*Bibl. Urgesch.* pp. 98 ff.)[1] gives of the names Jered and Methushelach — as meaning respectively "Descent" = "degeneration" and "Man of weapons" = "man of violence," suggesting a progressive deterioration of man, and thus preparing the way for the Flood that was to sweep away the sinful race—are to our mind not convincing, all the more as the theory rests on a critical view of the superiority of the figures in the Samaritan text which we have rejected (cf. Crit. Notes). Another motive for changes in the form of certain

[1] Cf. also Holz., *Kurzer H.-C.* pp. 62 f.

of the names will appear in the following chapter (pp. 46 ff.). Apart from these changes, P has added to the materials provided by J^2 the notice regarding Enoch (v. 22 ff.), and the numerical details relating to the lives of the different patriarchs. From what source these and the other additions were derived, we shall have hereafter to inquire.

This seems the most convenient point to ask whether P shows dependence on any other Hebrew source than J. From the use of סֵפֶר in v. 1, we venture to answer in the affirmative. The word is found in several distinct senses (cf. Exeg. Notes), but in every instance it implies a *completed* document, not the mere section of a larger whole. We ought most naturally, therefore, to regard the סֵפֶר תּוֹלְדֹת אָדָם of ch. v. as a genealogical tree already in existence, which P has incorporated in his own work, rather than elaborated of his own initiative.[1] The preparation of such genealogies was a familiar practice of the exilic and post-exilic age (cf. Ezra vii. 1 ff.; Neh. xi. 4 ff. etc.), and in much later times (cf. Matt. i., and the "books of genealogies" of Jewish families). The tree in xi. 10 ff. was in all probability taken from the same "book," which may have traced the line of Adam through the royal family of Judah to leading personages of the exilic age (cf. Matt. i.). Whether the numerical data belonged to the original "book" or were added by the priestly writer himself, cannot be decided with

[1] Holz. also has observed that ס׳ תּוֹלְדֹת is rather the "title of a book" than the mere heading of a section. He, however, solves the difficulty by the drastic suggestion that P originally began without the Creation chapter (*Kurzer H.-C.* p. 58).

any certainty, though the phenomena of xi. 10 ff. would seem to indicate the former alternative (cf. Crit. Notes). Nor can we decide to whom the alterations of names and order should be ascribed, though P's reference to the סֵפֶר suggests that he followed his source with reasonable fidelity. The question, however, is relatively unimportant, both P and his source belonging to the same literary class, and exemplifying the same tendency of mind and attitude.

The crude fragment vi. 1–4 being passed over as repellent to a priestly mind like P's, he comes once more into contact with J^2 in the story of the Flood (vi. 9 ff.). Here for the first time a detailed comparison of the two documents becomes possible; and such a comparison throws much light on P's literary method, and the moral and religious ideals that influenced him.

In both J^2 and P the primal cause of the Flood is the sinfulness of men. P is careful, however, to avoid such anthropomorphisms as Jahveh's "repenting that He had made man," and being "grieved at His heart" for their sins (vi. 6 f.). He simply reports that God "saw" the corruption of the earth, and resolved to make an end of all flesh (vv. 12 f.). The instructions regarding the building of the ark have fallen out of J^2. They were doubtless similar in the main to the data in P, though much less elaborate and detailed. Exact measurements and precise specifications like those we find in vv. 14–16 are alien to the genius of a popular writer. Again, in the description of the actual Flood, the two writers follow the same general lines. Thus, they both use the technical terms for the "ark" and the "Flood" (הַתֵּבָה and הַמַּבּוּל). They also trace the course of the

Flood—its coming, rise, arrest, and fall—in much the same way. But throughout his narrative, P shows characteristic omissions, additions, and alterations. Thus he omits the graphic picture of the sending of the birds, as not merely uninteresting for so prosaic and abstract a mind, but also incongruous with his view of the departure from the ark as an act of obedience to God's express instructions (viii. 15 ff.). He likewise omits such anthropomorphic representations as Jahveh's "shutting the door" behind Noah (vii. 16*b*), and "smelling the sweet savour" of Noah's sacrifice (viii. 20 ff.),—the latter detail being further inconsistent with P's idea that sacrifice came only with the Levitical legislation. On this ground he likewise obliterates the distinction between "clean" and "unclean" animals, and reduces their numbers to the bare sufficiency of a pair of each (vi. 19 ff.). For the rest, he expands and alters the earlier narrative in various ways, to make the catastrophe as impressive as possible. The simple "household" of Noah is defined as "thou, and thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons' wives with thee"; the various animals are specified with the same minuteness as in ch. i.; the simple "rain" which causes the Deluge in J^2 becomes the breaking loose of primæval chaos (vii. 11, viii. 2*a*); the time over which the Deluge lasts is expanded from the $40 + 3 \times 7 = 61$ days of J^2 into a full solar year of 365 days; the waters are made to cover, by half the depth of the ark, the highest mountains of the earth (vii. 20 ff.). Instead of the sacrifice of Noah, P introduces the "covenant" of ch. ix., dealing with another of those fundamental institutions in which he is mainly interested, with the "sign" of the rainbow to

assure men against the recurrence of the Flood. How far these expansions of the earlier narrative depend on other sources than J^2 we shall inquire in the following chapter. It is apparent, however, that the bulk of them are simply the natural expression of P's methods and ideals.

The story of Noah's drunkenness (ix. 20 ff.) was too repugnant to the moral sense of P to find a place in his pages, even had the incident in itself possessed any interest for him. The story of the tower of Babel, with its crude representations of Jahveh and His doings (xi. 1 ff.), as naturally disappears. Only in the "genealogy" of the sons of Noah (ch. x.) and the line of descent from Shem to Abram (xi. 10 ff.) does P come again into contact with J. In the former of these sections, it is once more J^2 with whom he stands in relation. So far, however, as our present text shows, their connection is of the slightest. Only the two Arab names Sheba and Havilah are common to both; but in J^2 these are reckoned among the sons of Joktan, son of Shem (vv. 28 f.), while in P they figure among the sons of Ham (ver. 7). Evidently P has constructed his table on quite a different scheme from J^2 (cf. pp. 194 f.).

The genealogical line from Shem is probably also excerpted from the סֵפֶר תּוֹלְדֹת of v. 1, with the last element in the vital formula omitted in each instance. Here P, or his source, depends on the primary Jahvistic narrative (J). The names are, no doubt, substantially identical with those of J (cf. Crit. Notes).

From xi. 31, where we enter upon the history of the patriarchs of Israel, P is evidently based upon the primary J. The names of Abram, his wife, and other relatives

are the same in both. In the general course of his migrations, P also follows the primary source, save that he carries back the starting-point from Haran to Ur of the Chaldees, thus bringing the race into closer relations with Babylonia (cf. p. 61).

We have next to seek to discover the ultimate sources of the traditions lying behind the documents, as well as of the later materials which appear in J^2 and P.

CHAPTER III.

The Sources of the Traditions.

In tracing the early narratives of Genesis to their ultimate source, the best path—where possible—is the comparative method. The Biblical narratives are no isolated units. They belong to a whole class of kindred traditions. By comparison with these, then, we can best determine whether the traditions embodied in the documents of Genesis are natively Israelite, or whether some, at least, belong to a wider world.

In all such comparative investigations, we must reckon with a threefold possibility: (1) Similar traditions may really be independent. The same problems confront men in all parts of the world; and as the human mind is fundamentally the same among all peoples, the same solutions suggest themselves to minds in very different regions. As we find essentially the same products of inventive art—implements, arms, houses, clothing, etc.—among the most distant nations at corresponding stages of advancing civilisation, so also in the traditional lore of different peoples we find often surprising resemblances. In this case, we must seek for no further connection. (2) On the other hand, the traditions of separate peoples may show so many signs of detailed similarity, that they can only be regarded as different

versions of the same common original. In the case of nearly-related nations, these may then be considered lineal descendants of the same parent stock, so to speak, or two streams from the same fountainhead. (3) Where, however, common descent is out of the question, one of the two variants must be directly dependent on the other. The decision as to the ultimate source of the traditions turns on several different points: the local colouring of the stories, the names and localities, the occurrence of foreign words which point to the original home, the relative age of the nations, their historical and geographical connections, and their possibilities of influence through wars and alliances, commercial relations, travel, and such like.

Where the comparative method fails us, we must seek to determine the source from the intrinsic character of the traditions themselves, by the local colouring, the language and names, the import of the traditions, and the like.

The story of the Flood may be taken as the most convenient starting-point for such an inquiry. Not only are traditions of a flood found scattered through the most part of the world, but exact materials for scientific study lie ready to our hand.[1]

[1] The fullest collection of Flood stories is found in Andrée, *Die Flutsagen ethnographisch betrachtet* (1891). The cycle of traditions in the lands most nearly related to Israel (Babylonia, India, Greece, and Rome) are made the theme of a penetrating investigation by Usener, *Die Sintflutsagen untersucht* (1899). From these studies the tradition of the Flood appears to be, not universal indeed, but widely diffused, the most conspicuous exceptions being Arabia, N. Africa, and Middle and North Asia. Of the different stories, a certain number embody separate traditions of local inundations (*e.g.* in Egypt and China), others show Christian influence (*e.g.* among the Red Indians), and others seem clearly derived from the Oriental (Babylonian) tradition. Among these we class not only the Hebrew (see *inf.*), but also the Greek and

There remains no doubt as to the closest analogue to the Flood story in Genesis. The long-known fragments of Berosus showed that the Babylonians possessed a parallel tradition in many respects closely resembling the story in Genesis. And the actual texts, which we now possess (see App. B), show how striking the connection is. The relation of the different traditions may best be seen from the tables on pp. 40 f., which afford clear proof that the Biblical and Babylonian stories of the Flood are as much different versions of the same common original as the accounts in J^2 and P. There are, no doubt, characteristic differences in each. But all tell essentially the same tale. The periods of seven days, and the passages which describe the sending out of the birds and the sacrifice of Noah, are specially striking. In the latter instance the agreement extends even to words and phrases. This is sufficient evidence of the common origin of the two streams of tradition. The only question is, whether the two have issued independently from the same fountainhead of primitive tradition common to both nations, or one is derived from the other. The former alternative is adopted by Lenormant (*Beginnings of History*, Eng. tr. p. 407) and a few other scholars.[1] It is no doubt *a priori* possible, the Hebrews

Roman stories, which are both later and alien elements in the body of popular tradition, and can be traced with considerable certainty, by way of Phrygia and Syria, back to their original fountainhead, as well as the Indian, which is also found only in the later literature, and seems to show clear evidence of Babylonian colouring (especially in the connection of the Flood with the "fish," the emblem of the Babylonian Ὀάννης, the Fish-man of Berosus, identical with the Sea-god Ea). Ctr., however, Usener, *op. cit.* pp. 25 ff., who makes the different traditions independent variations of a common mythical theme (cf. Chapter VIII. p. 193, n. 1).

[1] Cf. Orr, *Problem of the Old Testament*, p. 408.

and Babylonians belonging to the same Semitic race, and thus sharing certain common traditions. But weighty evidence bears against such a theory of their relation. For one thing, we must do justice to the fact of the great antiquity of the tradition in Babylonia. The present text forms part of the Eleventh Tablet of the Gilgamesh Epic, found in the library of Asshurbanipal of Assyria (668–626 B.C.). But the documents in that library were transcriptions of cuneiforms already existent in the old libraries of Babylonia. And, moreover, in their present composite form they presuppose a considerable period of literary redaction. The Flood story has no integral connection with the Gilgamesh Epic, and no doubt existed originally as a separate literary narrative. In point of fact, since the discovery of the Epic, several independent versions of the Flood story have been unearthed—in fragmentary form, it is true —among the libraries of Babylonia (cf. App. B, pp. 345 f., and others in *KB*, vi. 275 ff.). Of these, the fragments discovered by Scheil date from the reign of Ammizaduga (*c.* 2100 B.C.). The marked divergences in these different versions carry us still farther back for the original existence of the story as part of the oral traditions of the people. Jastrow (*Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 508) is probably justified in arguing from the absence of the god Marduk, who plays so large a part in the Creation Epos, that the tradition of the Flood reached its present literary form prior to the rise of Babylon to supremacy, under the régime of Ḫammurabi (*c.* 2250 B.C.).[1] This would throw the tradition back to the days of hoary antiquity, long

[1] On the date of Ḫammurabi, cf. p. 177, n. 2.

J^2.	P.	Babylonian Text.	Berosus.
Jahveh sees the great wickedness of man, repents of having made him, and resolves to blot him from off the face of the ground. Only Noah finds favour in the eyes of Jahveh (vi. 5–8).	Noah is a blameless man, who "walked with God" (vi. 9). The whole earth apart from him is "corrupt before God" (vi. 11 ff.). God is resolved to make an end of all flesh (vi. 13). God instructs Noah to make an ark of gopher wood, all full of rooms, pitched within and without with pitch, 300 cubits long, 50 cubits broad, and 30 cubits high, with a hinged roof, a door, and 3 storeys (vi. 14–16).	For the sins of the men of Shurippak the gods resolve to destroy the city by a flood (i. 11 ff.). By a subtle trick, the god Ea reveals their design to his favourite Ut-napishtim (i. 19 ff.). Ea bids Ut-napishtim build a ship, *x* cubits in length and breadth (i. 24 ff.). Ut-napishtim builds the ship, 120 cubits in length, breadth, and height (ii. 1 f.), with 6 storeys, each with 9 compartments (ii. 4–6); pours 3 sars of pitch over both inside and outside (ii. 9 f.); and fills it with provisions of gold and silver, and all that he has (ii. 22 ff.); then he brings on board his family and household, cattle and beasts, and workmen (ii. 26 f.).	Cronos appears to Xisuthros in his sleep, warns him of an impending flood, bids him build a ship, and put on board his family and friends, with animals, winged and four-footed, of every kind, and provisions enough for all, and giving him further instructions, bids him set sail.
Jahveh bids Noah enter the ark, with all his household, and 7 each of clean and 2 of unclean animals, to keep seed alive (vii. 1–3); for after 7 days He will cause a flood to destroy every living thing (vii. 4). Noah does all that Jahveh commands him (vii. 5).	God bids Noah enter the ark, with his wife, sons, etc., together with 2 each of all kinds of animals to keep them alive, with provisions sufficient for them (vi. 18–21). Noah does according to all that God has commanded him (vi. 21).	At a set signal, Ut-napishtim enters the ship, shuts the door, and entrusts the structure, with all its contents, to Puzur-Bel, the captain (ii. 33 ff.).	Xisuthros obeys his word, builds a ship 5 (Armenian version 15) stadia long and 2 stadia broad, gathers provisions, brings together his family and friends, with the beasts and cattle, and sets sail.
After the 7 days, the flood comes, and Noah and his company enter the ark (vii. 7 ff.).	At the time appointed the fountains of the deep are broken up, and the windows of heaven opened (vii. 11).		

Jahveh shuts the door behind him (vii. 16*c*).	Noah and his company enter the ark (vii. 13–16).		
The rain falls in torrents for 40 days and 40 nights (vii. 12).	The flood rises 15 cubits above the highest mountain tops (vii. 18–20).	On the 7th day the flood descends (ii. 38 ff.).	The flood comes.
		The waters rise above the mountains (iii. 1).	
All living creatures perish, save those in the ark (vii. 22 f.)	All flesh dies (vii. 21).	All mankind is blotted out (iii. 10 ff.).	
At the close of the 40 days, the torrent is restrained, and the waters recede (viii. 2).	The 150 days of the flood being over, God remembers Noah and his company, closes the windows and fountains, and sends a wind to dry the earth (viii. 1 f.)	The flood lasts 6 days and 6 nights (iii. 19 f.).	
		On the 7th day the flood ceases (iii. 21).	
(The ark rests on a certain hill).	The ark rests on Mt. Ararat (viii. 4).	Next morning the ship rests on Mt. Nisir (iii. 31 f.).	The ship is driven on a certain mountain.
After 7 days, Noah sends forth a dove, to see whether the earth is dry. This is twice repeated, till the dove returns no more (viii. 8–12).	The waters go on decreasing, till the earth is dry (viii. 5 and 13).	On the 7th day thereafter, Ut-napishtim sends out his birds (iii. 27 ff.).	Xisuthros sends out the birds. On their ceasing to return, he removes part of the joinings, and disembarks.
		When the raven fails to return, Ut-napishtim lets his company all go "to the four winds" (iii. 47).	
Noah removes the covering of the ark, and finds the earth dry (viii. 13).	God bids Noah and all with him leave the ark (viii. 15–17).	Ut-napishtim offers sacrifice; the gods gather around, and smell the sweet fragrance (iii. 47 ff.).	
(They leave the ark.)	They leave the ark (viii. 18 f.)	Bel is pacified (iv. 34 ff.).	
Noah builds an altar, and offers sacrifices. Jahveh smells the sweet savour, and vows never again to bring a flood upon the earth (viii. 20–22).	God establishes His covenant with Noah (ch. ix.).	Ut-napishtim and his wife are made like gods (iv. 39 ff.).	Xisuthros offers sacrifice, and is removed to dwell with the gods, with his wife, daughter, and steersman.

before the tribes of Israel emerged from their ancestral home. But even apart from age, the local colouring is decisively against the theory of independent origin from common primitive tradition. The cradle of the Semitic race, within the historical period at least, was Arabia (cf. Chapter VIII. p. 168). A primitive Semitic tradition would then show Arabian colouring. But the whole atmosphere of the Flood story is alien to a land like Arabia, with its barren plateaus broken only by rapid wadis. It is not surprising, therefore, that Arabia is one of the few lands that have no such tradition.[1] A catastrophe like the Flood could only have taken place in an alluvial country, like Egypt or Babylonia, with their great rivers holding the land in their embrace. The scene of the Babylonian Flood story is Shurippak on the Euphrates, near the Persian Gulf. But the Bible also locates the catastrophe in the East. The resting-place of the ark in P is Mt. Ararat. And probably in the older version the mountain was nearer Assyria. The mention of olives seems also to point to the East (cf. Exeg. Note on viii. 11). The absence of all distinct Palestinian colouring, and the occurrence of foreign words like מַבּוּל, תֵּבָה, and כֹּפֶר, point in the same direction. And the literary flavour of the different stories suggests the originality of the Babylonian. With all its wild and grotesque polytheism, the Epos of Ut-napishtim is genuine poetry, full of feeling, life, and movement, with a

[1] Cf. Andrée, *Die Flutsagen*, etc. p. 125. To the same effect Nöldeke writes: "Of such a catastrophe as the Flood, the Arabs can hardly have had an idea. Only a very few of them can ever have seen a perennial stream of water, still fewer a ship." This fact seems conclusively to disprove Cheyne's hypothesis of an original N. Arabian Deluge story (*Traditions and Beliefs*, pp. 143 ff.).

familiar acquaintance with nautical terms and customs. In this respect, both the Biblical stories are but prosaic reflections of the original. Thus all the arguments converge in proving that the two are not independent parallels, but that the Flood stories of Genesis are really derived from the older Babylonian tradition.

An interesting question arises as to the relative nearness of J^2 and P to the Babylonian original. The relation of J^2 is at first sight more apparent. It is he who has adhered most faithfully to the general outline of the story. He has preserved, for example, the seven days' movement of events, save that he expands the duration of the Flood to forty days, and gives two further intervals of seven days between the sendings of the birds. He has preserved also the most vivid incidents in the tale, the episode of the birds and the sacrifice of Noah. But yet in certain details P shows greater approximation to the Babylonian original: *e.g.*, in the measurements of the ship, the stories, and cells, and the instructions to "pitch within and without with pitch" (cf. Gen. vi. 14–16 with Col. ii. 1–10). This part of J^2's narrative has, no doubt, been omitted. It is hardly likely, however, that he entered into such precise details as P, this being alien to his general style. Detailed specifications, too, are the least likely elements to be transmitted from mouth to mouth. The data are insufficient as yet to support definite conclusions. But we have at least the suggestion that, while J^2 received his materials through ordinary oral tradition, P had more direct access to original sources. Had we more versions of the Babylonian poem, P's measurements might be found still more in

harmony with original data (cf. Note on Col. ii. 2 in App. B, p. 339, n. 1).

It is of far more importance for our inquiry, however, to note the difference between the two cycles of tradition. The Bible writers do not simply reproduce the materials they receive. They touch and recast them in their own spirit. In this connection we refer not to mere details, but to the religious and moral complexion of the narratives. In this respect the two cycles are *toto cælo* apart. The Babylonian epic shows us a medley of confused gods, charged with strong passions, destroying the whole human race for the sins of a few, and full of mutual spites and jealousies, plotting and counter-plotting, and carrying their ends by petty tricks and subterfuges (cf. i. 19 ff., 36 ff. etc.), yet weak and helpless, crying like women in travail, cowering like dogs in terror of the storm, and gathering like flies around the sacrifice (cf. iii. 5 ff., 8 f., 17, 51 ff.). Nor is the moral tone of the epic conspicuously high. At the close (iv. 21 ff.) it is indeed suggested that men's sins were the cause of the judgment, and in the parallel story of Ea and Atrachasis (App. B, p. 346) this motive appears more clearly. But, according to Ea (iv. 19 ff.), the punishment was far in excess of the sin,—the result of a reckless and inconsiderate outburst of wrath on Bel's part, which blinded him to moral issues, and led him to destroy innocent and guilty alike, and filled him with anger when he learned that even one had escaped (iv. 8 ff.). Nor was Ut-napishtim saved for his piety, but merely on the ground that he was the favourite of Ea. Over against this fantastic and unmoral polytheism stands the grave moral monotheism of the Bible. In

both the narratives of Genesis we find the one sovereign and righteous God ruling the storm, destroying the sinful for their utter and irretrievable wickedness, but saving the righteous for their piety; and with all His righteous wrath against iniquity, yet full of tender compassion for His creatures, vowing never again to destroy men for their sins, making a gracious covenant with Noah and his children to perpetual generations, and "remembering" even the dumb creatures, and including them within the covenant. Friedrich Delitzsch (*Babel und Bibel*, II. p. 31) has, indeed, found more "human sympathy" in the Babylonian epic, in Ut-napishtim's "lamenting bitterly" when he looks across the waste of waters and sees all men "turned again to clay" (iii. 24 f.). But this "sympathy" can hardly reconcile us to the treacherous trick by which he deceives his fellow-citizens (i. 35 ff.), or the farewell feast by which he lulls them into security (ii. 14 ff.). Over against such maudlin and false "sympathy," the Noah of the Bible stands forth as the representative of "righteousness" (vi. 9, vii. 1)—a man that "did justice, and loved mercy, and walked humbly with his God" (Mic. vi. 8).

With the story of the Flood are most naturally connected the lists of patriarchs in Gen. iv. and v. These lists figure both in J^2 and P, as well as in the earlier nucleus of J. Thus a threefold comparison is possible.

In the original narrative of J we have a line of seven patriarchs, of whom Adam is a generic name, Cain, Enoch, Irad, and Mehujael (or Mahalalel) are either identical, or show close affinity, with tribal and local names on the border of Judah and Arabia, while Lamech is probably derivable from an Arabic stem, and both

Adah and Zillah, his wives, are closely connected with Hebrew stems (cf. Exeg. Notes on iv. 17 ff.). Only Methushael has no such relation to local or Hebrew names and words. Whatever its original form, the name seems to be Babylonian (cf. Exeg. Notes). Thus, even in the original list, though perhaps as the result of later reflection and alteration, Babylonian influence appears. In J^2 the first two names in J's list are reproduced in different form, and thus given as the introduction to the original seven. At the close, Noah is added to complete a list of ten. This forms the basis of the more formal genealogical line in P, who, however, alters the position of Enoch, makes certain verbal changes, and adds the number of years of each of the patriarchs. The ten patriarchs thus recall the ten antediluvian kings of Berosus' list (App. B, p. 336). Certain of the names suggest a still more curious connection between the two lists. Indeed, the majority of Assyriologists are at one with Sayce in his judgment, that here, too, the Biblical account "is as much dependent on Babylonian traditions as in the story of the Flood." The judgment rests on such equations as the following:

J. and J^2.	P.	Babylonian.
1. אָדָם = man.	אָדָם.	Ἄλωρος, Alorus or Aruru (?).
2. (שֵׁת.)	שֵׁת.	Ἀλάπαρος, Alaparus or Adaparus, Adapa.
3. (אֱנוֹשׁ = man).	אֱנוֹשׁ.	Ἀμήλων, Assyr. *amelu* = man.
4. קֵינָן = smith.	קֵינָן.	Ἀμμένων, Assyr. *ummanu* = workman.
5. חֲנוֹךְ.	מְחַלְלְאֵל = worshipper of God.	Μεγάλαρος (Μελάλαρος), Assyr. *amel-Aruru* = man of the goddess Aruru.

6.	עִירָד (Ar. عرن, grow up) = sprout, scion.	יֶרֶד (יָרַד, descend) = son.	Δάωνος, Assyr. *damu* or *dawu* = son.
7.	מְחוּיָאֵל (?).	חֲנוֹךְ.	Εὐεδώραχος, Enmeduranki, the favourite of the gods.
8.	מְתוּשָׁאֵל (Assyr. *mutu-sha-ili*) = man of God.	מְתוּשֶׁלַח (Assyr. *mutu-shelach*) = man of the god Shelach (another title of Sin).	Ἀμέμψινος, Assyr. *amel-Sin* = man of the god Sin.
9.	לֶמֶךְ (Assyr. *Lamga*) = servant (viz. of Marduk).	לֶמֶךְ.	Ὠτιάρτης (Ὠπάρτης), Assyr. *Ubara-Tutu* = vassal of Tutu (another name for Marduk).
10.	נֹחַ.	נֹחַ.	Ξίσουθρος, Assyr. *Atra-chasis* = the very wise (the title of honour of Ut-napishtim).[1]

Of these equations, Nos. 1 and 2 afford no real point of connection. The two sets of names are parallels and nothing more. Of the rest, 5 (P), 6, and 9 rest on too precarious derivations of the Hebrew names (cf. Exeg. Notes) to be accepted as authentic. The identification is more apparent in 3 and 4; but even here the connection is quite general.[2] The only equation that

[1] On these equations see Hommel in *Proceedings of the Society of Bibl. Archæology*, 1893, pp. 243 ff.; Jeremias, *Das A.T. im Lichte des A.O.* pp. 118 f.; *KAT*[3], pp. 531 ff.; Ball, "Genesis" (*SBOT*), p. 50, etc.

[2] Other nations reckon "man" among the progenitors of the race (cf. Tacitus, *Germania*, ch. 2). Among these are also numbered the eponymous heroes of leading national crafts (cf. especially Sanchuniathon's line of Phœnician ancestors, Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* iii. 565 f.). Thus Cain, if really the *eponymus* of the "Smith" clan (ctr., however, pp. 191 f.), would be a natural element in a line of desert patriarchs; while *ummanu*, the general designation for "workman" (cf. the Flood poem, Col. ii. 29), would appropriately belong to a Babylonian line of prehistoric kings. Against the equations thus confidently asserted by the Assyriological school, Cheyne offers similar objections (*Traditions and Beliefs*, pp. 112 ff.).

can be regarded as etymologically certain is מְחוּשָׁאֵל, מְתוּשֶׁלַח, *Amel-Sin* (No. 8). But the relation between Enoch, the man who "walked with God" (P), and Enmeduranki, the favourite of the Babylonian gods, to whom they committed the secrets of heaven, is striking, —and still more so in later Jewish tradition, where Enoch appears as a man who shares the counsel of God. The translation of Enoch also inevitably suggests the similar destiny of Ut-napishtim in the Flood story (Col. iv. 38 ff.). It is also noteworthy that in both lists the tenth figure is the hero of the Flood, though again the names have nothing in common.

A liberal deduction must therefore be made from the categorical statements of Assyriologists, that the Hebrew lists, both in J and P, are but transcriptions of Babylonian names. Apart from the doubtful instance of מְחוּשָׁאֵל, J shows no trace of Babylonian influence. His names, as has been shown, are purely Hebrew or Arabic. And the historical relations which have been pointed out between Enoch and Enmeduranki, and Noah and Ut-napishtim, do not exist for him. Enoch appears in his list, not as the seventh patriarch, but as the third. And the story of his piety seems to be unknown both to him and to the later J^2. In his narrative, too, Noah has no connection with the Flood. He is regarded, instead, as the common ancestor of the peoples of Palestine. It does seem, however, as if Babylonian influence has been at work, in greater or less degree, in the later versions of the patriarchal line. Thus, the increase of the original seven names to ten, with the hero of the Flood as the tenth figure, is best explained from the appearance of ten antediluvian kings in the Babylonian list—a piece of

Babylonian tradition which came to J[2]'s knowledge along with the story of the Flood. The change from מְתוּשָׁאֵל to מְתוּשֶׁלַח (in P), and the altered position he assigns to Enoch, are probably the results of a more deliberate attempt to bring the two lists into harmony. The story of Enoch's translation, and the fabulously long lives accorded to the patriarchs, also suggest a nearer approach to Babylonian tradition. This latter argument has been worked out by Oppert in his elaborate article on "Die Daten der Genesis" in *the Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1877, pp. 201 ff. According to the calculations of this veteran Assyriologist, 1 Biblical week = 1 Chaldean "soss" of months; the 1656 years from the Creation to the Flood (according to P's chronology) = 86,400 weeks, which thus correspond to the 432,000 years = 86,400 "sosses" of months of the Babylonian antediluvian chronology. The correctness of these calculations, which Oppert carries into much further detail, depends, of course, on the authority of our present Massoretic text, as well as on the correctness of the data given us by Berosus. They do, however, tend to confirm the impression of a nearer approximation to Babylonian tradition in the more formal history of P than in either of his two more "popular" predecessors.

Our study of the lists thus goes to show that the original nucleus used by J is free from Babylonian influence, that J[2] shows a certain knowledge of Babylonian tradition, and that P is more familiar with the details, and has consciously sought to bring his list into greater harmony with the names and facts of that tradition,—though even in his case we have no deliberate transcription from literary sources.

The same general relations appear in the records of Creation. The connection between Gen. i. and the Babylonian myths of creation (cf. App. B) is not, indeed, evident at first sight. The description of Chaos in Gen. i. 2 contains elements that belong to the mythology of many different nations: such as the mass of primæval waters, shrouded in darkness, and the suggestion of the world-egg, with the Spirit brooding over it, from which the universe is evolved.[1] In this respect, then, the Biblical cosmogony belongs rather to common ethnic tradition than to any one phase of it. But the development of the cosmos from primæval waters does point to an alluvial land, such as Egypt or Babylonia, for the source of the tradition. And various indications go to show that the source of this tradition is really Babylonia. Two of the words are Babylonian: בֹּהוּ, Phœn. *Βάαυ*, and ultimately, no doubt, Babylonian (cf. Exeg. Note), and תְּהוֹם, whose connection with the Babylonian Tiamat, the dragon of the deep, is universally recognised (cf. Exeg. Note). The progressive ordering

[1] The conceptions of primæval water and darkness are found, *e.g.*, among the Greeks, Indians, and Egyptians; that of the world-egg among many other nations besides, such as the ancient Germanic peoples, the Polynesians, etc. (cf. Lukas, *Die Grundbegriffe in den Kosmogonien der alten Völker*, *passim*). The nearest parallel to Gen. i., however, is found in the Phœnician traditions of Sanchuniathon (Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* iii. 565 f.). Here, too, we have the primæval water and darkness, with the "embracing" Spirit, giving life to all things. This Phœnician tradition was, no doubt, derived from some more original source. A nearly-related Egyptian cosmogony is given in Saussaye, *Religionsgeschichte*[2], i. pp. 146 f. This, however, is regarded by scholars as a later element, due most probably to Babylonian influence. Hence, we should look to Babylon also for the origin of the Phœnician cosmogony. The Seven Tables, indeed, describe only the mass of primæval waters (i. 5 ff.); but Berosus mentions the "darkness" (*σκότος καὶ ὕδωρ*) as well. And had we the full library of Assyrian inscriptions, the conception of the world-egg with the "brooding" Spirit might be found there also.

of the Universe likewise finds its closest analogue in the Seven Tables of Creation and the derived account of Berosus (cf. App. B, pp. 325 ff.).[1] The relation of the two traditions will appear from the following tables:—

Gen. i.	Seven Tables.
i. The emergence of light (vv. 3 f.).	i. The appearance of Marduk, god of light (ii. 97 ff.).
ii. The division of primæval chaos into heaven and earth (vv. 6 ff.).	ii. The splitting in two of Tiamat, to form heaven and earth (iv. 135 ff.; cf. Berosus).[2]
iii. The growth of herbs and trees from earth (vv. 11 f.).	iii. The setting up of the sun, moon, and stars in heaven, as images of the great gods, to "rule" the day and night, and "determine" the seasons (v. 1 ff.).
iv. The placing of the sun, moon, and stars in the firmament of heaven, to "rule" the day and night, and to serve as "signs" of seasons, etc. (vv. 14 ff.).	iv. The creation of plants (not found in our present text, but evidently an original element of the Epos—prob. in Tab. v., after the setting up of the heavenly bodies; cf. vii. 1 f., 21 ff.).
v. The creation of the animals (vv. 20 ff.).	v. Creation of the animals (also missing from our present text, but authenticated by Berosus—its place also, probably, in Tab. v. after creation of plants).
vi. The creation of man in God's image (vv. 26 ff.).	vi. Creation of man from Marduk's blood, mixed with earth (Tab. vi. 5 ff.; cf. vii. 29, and Berosus).

[1] The Etruscan (cf. Jeremias, *Das A.T. im Lichte des A.O.*, p. 35) and Persian (cf. Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, i. p. 455) cosmogonies, with their six periods of creation, may approach more closely the formal scheme in Gen. i.; but their lateness puts them out of account for scientific comparison. Both were doubtless influenced by Semitic, possibly even by Hebrew, conceptions. The original Persian parallel to the Flood—the destruction by frost and snow, which spared only those in "Yima's enclosure" (see Zend-Avesta, Vendîdâd, ii. 21 ff.)—is markedly different from either the Babylonian or the Hebrew accounts. Their original creation narrative was probably as different.

[2] L. W. King quotes from a Tablet found by him (S. 2013), *Ti-am-at*

The parallelism here is clear. Except for the altered position of the plants and heavenly bodies, the order of creation is the same in both. In details, too, the likeness of the two traditions is sometimes very striking. The division of the "waters above the firmament" from the "waters below the firmament" (Gen. i. 6 f.) is closely analogous with the division of Tiamat into two portions, the "upper Tiamat" and the "lower Tiamat" (cf. p. 51, n. 2), to form the heavens and the earth. The sections relating to the creation of the heavenly bodies also show marked resemblances. The references to "ruling" the day and night (Gen. i. 16; Tab. v. 12), and to the heavenly bodies as "signs" which "determine" days and years (Gen. i. 14; Tab. v. 2 f., 5, 13 ff.), are unmistakable proofs of connection. Here again it would appear as if P had direct access to Babylonian sources of information.

But though the raw material may be originally the same, the spirit that breathes through and informs the two parallel versions is fundamentally dissimilar. In the Babylonian Epos, chaos appears as a frightful monster, that first gives birth to the gods, and then seeks to destroy them (i. 9 ff.). The contest for supremacy between Marduk and Tiamat is related with much poetic force, indeed, but with a wild savagery of imagination that places it within the same category as the mythologies of the lower races. The creation of the heavenly bodies, too, is saturated with mytho-

eli-ti and *Ti-am-at shap-li-ti*, "the upper Tiamat" and "the lower Tiamat." This evidence for the use of Tiamat="ocean" brings the Babylonian and Biblical accounts into still closer harmony (cf. King's *Seven Tablets of Creation*, p. lxxxiii).

logical feeling. The stars are literally "images" of the gods (v. 2)—living creatures in their likeness. The sun and moon are godlike beings that "rule" their respective spheres of day and night (v. 12 ff.). On the other hand, in Genesis the one supreme, eternal God creates all things by His omnipotent Divine fiat. Though not explicitly declared to be created by His Word, chaos yet appears as absolutely subject to His command. The only evidence of the old Babylonian conception of Tiamat as a personal being is found in the absence of the article in תְּהוֹם. In actual representation, Tehom is a dead inert mass of primæval matter. All other traces of mythology have been uncompromisingly excluded from the chapter. The birth of the gods (Tab. i. 9 ff.), the divided supremacy (Tab. ii. and iii.), and all elements of weakness, fear and unworthy conduct on the part of the gods of heaven, are conspicuously absent. God is the self-consistent, omnipotent, and good God who creates all things with sovereign power and constant regard for the best. Though the forms of speech "to rule the day" and "to rule the night" are retained, there is no suggestion of the heavenly bodies as independent powers either parallel or subordinate to God. In P's solemn and dignified style, the phrases are but figurative expressions, which recall a past history when the heavenly bodies were really regarded as mighty gods, but have no such present connotation. God is the only Ruler. In relation to Him, all things are but clay in the hands of the potter.

The records of man's creation afford a highly suggestive illustration of this difference in spirit. The

grotesque account of man's formation from the blood of Marduk (vi. 5 ff.; cf. Berosus) is probably a mythological elaboration of the idea of the close relation of kinship, between man and the gods:—he is "of the same blood" as the gods (cf. p. 148). The representation is therefore parallel to the tales we find in other nations of man's physical descent from the gods (cf. Exeg. Note on vi. 2). The priestly writer preserves the truth underlying the crude idea in his representation of man as made "in the image of God," and therefore "like Him" in all essential elements of personality. But in so doing he effectually excludes all unworthy conceptions of the Godhead. The God who makes man in His own image is still the supreme and exalted Creator, Sovereign and Lord of all. The conception of the "image of God" thus conserves God's honour while it exalts man's dignity (cf. pp. 143 ff.).

Thus again we find Babylonian materials taken up, but recast, and in the process purified, transfigured, and glorified by the writers of Genesis.

The foregoing clear instances of connection between the traditions of Genesis and the epics of Babylonia have led Assyriologists to seek and find in Babylonia "the purer and more original"[1] form of almost all the narratives in Gen. i.-xi., and indeed the mythological form of the whole history of Israel as far as the reigns of David and Solomon.[2]

Thus Sayce (*Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, pp. 91 ff.) has found in the second Babylonian myth of

[1] Delitzsch, *Babel und Bibel*, p. 29.

[2] Cf. especially Winckler, *KAT*[3], pp. 204 ff., and *Geschichte Israels*, II, *passim*.

Creation (App. B, pp. 332 ff.) the original of the Jahvistic story of creation (Gen. ii. 5 ff.). In this he is followed by several other scholars.[1] Attention has been specially drawn to the negative condition of things set forth in ll. 2 ff., which is identified with the similar condition in Gen. ii. 5, and to the formation of beasts and herbs after the creation of man in both. But a series of negatives is quite a characteristic feature in the opening lines of creation myths.[2] Nor is the second argument valid. The Babylonian poem passes from the dwelling of the gods to the making (lit. "building") of men, beasts of the field, rivers, herbs, earth, plantations, and cities, with no appreciable link of connection. As compared with the well-ordered march of progress in Gen. ii., where man is first "formed," and then trees, animals, and woman for his well-being, comfort, and help, the Babylonian poem shows unregulated confusion. Moreover, the local scenery is quite dissimilar. In the Babylonian poem the original condition is overflowing sea (ll. 10 ff.)—a conception in perfect accord with the local conditions of the "land of the rivers." A portion of the water-logged land the god Marduk reclaims by a dyke of earth and tress-work, and thereon he builds man, animals, and vegetation—also perfectly in harmony with Babylonian conditions and methods. In Gen. ii., on the other hand, the original state of the earth is barren desert. This is watered by a

[1] Cf. Bennett in *Century Bible*, p. 90; Driver in *Westminster Commentary*, p. 52, and *Authority and Archæology*, pp. 18 f.

[2] Cf. also the *Seven Tables*, i. 1 ff.; the Indian *Rig-Veda*, x. 129; the Egyptian Creation Myths (*Dict. Bible*, v. 178); the old Germanic myths in the *Edda* (cf. Lukas, *Die Grundbegriffe in den Kosmogonien der alten Völker*, p. 222), etc.

stream;[1] and from the moist and plastic earth Jahveh forms man and the beasts, while the fertile soil of itself produces vegetation. The local colouring of Gen. i. pointed us to an alluvial land as the cradle of the tradition. This second story leads us as certainly to a desert land. And in such a land we must look for the origin of the tradition.

Jastrow (*Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 511) has found the original source of the story of Adam's creation and early relation to Eve in the Babylonian myth or legend of Eabani and Ukhat (see App. B, p. 334). The creation of Eabani from clay which the goddess Aruru kneaded (ll. 34 f.) does certainly recall the formation of man from the ground (Gen. ii. 7 f.). The "image of Anu" (l. 34) further reminds us of the "image of God" in Gen. i. 26 f. But the formation of man from the soil is a common element in primitive myths of creation (see Exeg. Note on ii. 7), while even the idea that man is made "in the likeness of God" is found among other nations (cf. Chapter VII. pp. 146 f.). If the Ukhat story be really the original of the making of Eve and her early association with Adam, Stade is justified in his frank expression of opinion that the two are related "as a clear mountain spring to the slough of a village cesspool" (*ZATW*, 1903, pp. 174 f.) But even the derivation seems to us to lack support. Adam lives in no such intimate relations with the beasts as the story of Eabani implies. At no time does he find satisfaction for his heart in their society. No one of them was ever found "an helper corresponding to his

[1] The term אֵד (ii. 6) cannot be held of itself to prove Babylonian origin (cf. Exeg. Note).

nature." Nor is his relation to Eve the degrading union of Eabani and Ukhat. Even if the story of Eve's formation be an integral part of the temptation narrative, her leading her husband astray is absolutely removed from Ukhat's shameful seduction of Eabani. And if, as we have argued, this part of the story originally belonged to an earlier nucleus, which narrates the making of the world and man, the episode of the building up of woman from part of the man is an original explanation of the connection of man and woman, derived directly from the proverb "bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh," and reflecting the close, intimate, and natural union of soul and body that links them together.[1]

The story of Eden does, however, point us to the East. The description of the garden in ii. 10–15 locates it somewhere N. of Babylonia, where the Tigris and Euphrates were believed to flow from a common source. And even if these verses formed no part of the original story (cf. Crit. Notes), yet the whole atmosphere, apart from the explicit notice מִקֶּדֶם (ii. 8), is that of the mystic East, with its rich luxuriance[2] and magical enchantments. We may quite legitimately, therefore, seek for Babylonian parallels here. What we do find, however, is no clearly-marked "original" (as in the Flood story, and the Creation narrative of Gen. i.), but a number of different traces, suggestions, and distant reminiscences. Thus the picture of Paradise, the garden of Jahveh, with its sacred trees and water, finds an analogue in the cedar-clad

[1] Cheyne rejects Jastrow's theory on different grounds (*Traditions and Beliefs*, p. 73, n. 3).

[2] On the extraordinary fertility of Babylonia, cf. Herod. i. 193; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vi. 117, etc.

mountain of Ḫumbaba, "the dwelling-place of the gods," of the Gilgamesh legend (Tab. v. 6). The "plant of life" is found also in the Gilgamesh legend (cf. Exeg. Note on iii. 22). The mention of the cherubim and the flaming sword also suggests Babylonia (cf. Exeg. Note on iii. 24). The Assyriologists seem right also in finding in the Adapa legend (App. B, p. 335) a suggestion of the Fall story. But they exaggerate when they regard that as the "purer and more original" form of the tradition. It is not so much with the main narrative of Gen. iii. that we ought to compare the legend, as with the older and cruder parallel represented in ii. 9 and iii. 22 and 24. In both, we have wisdom and immortality set forth as the special prerogative of God and the god-like beings (angels). In both, the winning of immortality is bound up with eating the food or drinking the water of life. In both, man is left with the Divine gift of wisdom, while the prize of immortality is withheld. Yet even thus, the vital relation of the two narratives does not impress us with the same inevitable certainty as in the tradition of the Flood or the record of creation. What we meet with, as we have said, is rather "suggestion and distant reminiscence." The Hebrew form of the tradition stands at a much greater distance from its original than in the former instances. And the main narrative of Gen. iii. has travelled still further from the fountainhead. In its ultimate origin, the story of Eden and its wonder-working trees is no doubt Babylonian. But the profoundly ethical character of the narrative of man's temptation and fall, as we find it in Genesis, stamps it in its present form as distinctively Israelite. The Babylonian records have yielded no real parallel to the

Fall. The famous cylinder gem of the British Museum, with its representation of the two figures and the serpent around the sacred tree, is still exhibited by Fried. Delitzsch (*Babel und Bibel*, pp. 37 f.)[1] as the Babylonian artistic parallel to Gen. iii. But the identification has been given up by most recent scholars.[2] The different religious tone of the two nations would likewise tend to disprove the connection. The Babylonians had, indeed, a certain keen sense of sin, as revealed in their Penitential Hymns, for example.[3] But the deep religious feeling and insight of Genesis lie quite beyond their range of thought and experience.[4]

Of the remaining narratives, the story of Nimrod (x. 8–12) shows considerable acquaintance with the political and historical relations between Babylon and the younger Empire of Assyria, and the chief cities in each. The verses thus imply a Babylonian origin—of much the same character as in the Flood story, which forms part of the same literary document (J^2).

[1] Cf. also Orr, *Problem of the Old Testament*, p. 404.

[2] Cf. Bezold, *Die Bab.-Ass. Keilinschriften u. ihre Bedeutung für das A.T.* p. 38; Lehmann, *Babyloniens Kulturmission einst u. jetzt*, p. 26; Jensen, *Christliche Welt*, 1902, Sp. 488; Zimmern in *KAT*^{3}, p. 529.

[3] Cf. select Psalms in Zimmern, "Babylonische Hymnen u. Gebete" (*Alte Orient*, 1905, Heft 3); *KAT*^{3}, pp. 609 ff.; Jeremias, *Monotheistische Strömungen*, pp. 34 ff.; Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 312 ff.

[4] These Psalms are all lamentations, not over conscious and personal sins, but "over the consequences of sin," the existence of sin being discovered not by the stings of an evil conscience, but by misfortunes and sufferings, conceived to be the expression of the anger of the gods. The burden of the "penitent's" prayers, therefore, is for "removal of these consequences," not for reconciliation and peace of conscience. "Penitence in the sense of confession, sorrow, and repentance, and vows to live a better life, these Psalms know nothing of" (Jeremias, *op. cit.* p. 35; cf. *KAT*^{3}, p. 610; Jastrow, *op. cit.* pp. 314 f.). The story of the Fall in Gen. iii., with its wonderful analysis of the "plague of the heart," belongs to quite a different spiritual sphere.

The story of the tower of Babel (xi. 1 ff.) as clearly points to the same fountainhead of tradition. The journeyings of man are here, too, "in the East." The precise locality is defined as the land of Shinar, *i.e.* Babylonia (cf. x. 10). The building materials are distinctively Babylonian: לְבֵנָה = *libittu* (so frequently found on the Monuments) and חֵמָר, bitumen (cf. Exeg. Notes). The tower is equally characteristic of Babylonian cities. The very phrase "with its top in the heavens" recalls almost identical expressions in the records of Assyrian and Babylonian kings (cf. Exeg. Notes). The story also truly reflects the mixture of peoples in Babylonia, and the diverse streams of influence that flowed from that source. And yet the narrative cannot have been derived directly from Babylonia. The writer does not betray the same intimate knowledge of Eastern geography as either J^2 (x. 8 ff.) or the author of the geographical addition to the story of Eden (ii. 10 ff.). To him, Babylon only lies somewhere in the vague East (ver. 2; cf. ii. 8). Babel is also a name of contempt, not of lofty pride (ver. 9). We have thus to deal, not with direct transmission, but with distant reminiscence or allusion, probably through some other channel bitterly hostile to Babylonia (cf. Exeg. Notes). In this respect, as well as in the religious tone of the story, it is most akin to the older version of the Fall (iii. 22, 24). Both are but indirectly connected with the ultimate source of the tradition. Yet both preserve more of the old pagan atmosphere than the ethically transformed version of the Fall in the main body of chs. ii. and iii.

With the story of Abram, we touch the horizon of Syria instead of Babylonia. The names in xi. 10 ff.

are closely related to local names in Mesopotamia (cf. Exeg. Notes). The home of Abram in J is Haran. In that neighbourhood his nearest kindred are found (cf. Crit. Note on xi: 28). Only in the name Arpachshad have we an indirect suggestion of an earlier connection with Babylonia (cf. p. 172). P, however, takes that step deliberately in throwing back the ancestral home of Abram to Ur of the Chaldees, one of the leading centres of Babylonian commerce and influence. The same direct connection of Israel with Babylonia and related nations appears in his Table of Nations (x. 22). The horizon of an earlier age is here, therefore, widened to embrace new knowledge and national experience and sentiment.

While we have thus traced back part of the traditions of Israel to their original source in Babylonia, we have sought to discriminate between the extent and intensity of Babylonian influence in the different sections of Genesis. We have found, in general, that the older nucleus used by J shows, with one doubtful exception, no trace of Babylonian influence; that the narratives embodied in the primary Jahvistic narrative (J) show not so much direct transmission, as hints, suggestions, and remote reflections; that J^2 betrays a more direct and intimate knowledge of Babylonian localities, history, and traditions,—especially those vivid incidents that impress the popular imagination, and are readily transmitted from generation to generation and people to people; while P, the most conscious and deliberate craftsman of the three, shows evidence of a more detailed acquaintance with Babylonian tradition, and of a definite intention to bring the history of Israel

into nearer relation with the *Antiquities* of the older nation.

The important question then emerges: At what period or periods, and through what channels, did these various elements of Babylonian tradition reach Israel?

In the later historical age, we find two main points of contact between Israel and the Assyro-Babylonian Empire.

1. As early as Tiglath-Pileser I. (*c.* 1100 B.C.) we read of Assyrian expeditions as far West as the Mediterranean (cf. *KB*, i. 36 ff.). At a somewhat later date, Asshurnazirpal (885–860) boasts of having "washed his weapons" in the Mediterranean, and exacted tribute from the Phœnician cities of Tyre, Sidon, Byblus, etc. (*KB*, i. 108 f.). Israel was first drawn into the maelstrom of Assyrian influence when Ahab fought as underman of Benhadad of Damascus at the historic battle of Karkar (854 B.C.). From this date the smaller nation was steadily crushed under by the dominant power. In 734, at the invitation of Ahaz of Judah, Tiglath-Pileser III. definitely intervened in the affairs of Israel, invading "Omriland," laying waste many of its cities (cf. 2 Kings xv. 29), and making his protégé Hoshea king instead of Pekah. To this period, during which Ahaz and his court cultivated friendly relations with the Assyrian monarch (2 Kings xvi. 10 ff.), we have already ascribed the first marked invasion of Assyrian influence over Judah (cf. pp. 23 f.).

2. The resistance under Hezekiah checked the flow of Eastern influence. But under his son Manasseh the stream rose to a full flood, until Judah seemed a

mere province of Assyrian domination, in religion and morals as well as political influence (2 Kings xxi.). The reformation under Josiah once more stemmed the rising tide. But the reaction which set in after the defeat of Megiddo threw the people still more helplessly under the power of their enemies, until the day of doom came, when the holy city was laid low, and the people were carried captive to Chaldea (586 B.C.). This inaugurates the second great period of connection between Judah and the East, the Exile in Babylonia, during which the people were immediately exposed to Babylonian influence, having the life of their heathen captors continually before their eyes, either affronting them by its gross profanity, or tempting them by its subtle seductions.

It is natural to seek for the point of contact between the narratives of Genesis and the corresponding traditions of Babylonia at one or other of these historical periods. Both have found their champions. Thus, Goldziher[1] and Fried. Delitzsch[2] have fixed upon the exilic period as the date of transmission. This is possible enough for the traditions in the priestly writer, but quite impossible for the earlier documents, whose date lies much farther back. With more reason, therefore, Budde,[3] Smend, Kuenen, and other scholars have pronounced for the regal period. This would cover the traditions incorporated in J^2 and P. And if, as Budde asserts (*Das A.T. u. die Ausgrabungen*, pp. 36 ff.), the primary Jahvistic narrative were free from

[1] *Der Mythos bei den Hebräern*, pp. 77 ff., 384 f.
[2] *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 93 f.
[3] *Die Bibl. Urgesch.* pp. 515 f.

Babylonian influence, no valid argument could be raised against the assumption. In that source, however, we have found evidence, not indeed of direct transmission, but of suggestion and reminiscence of Babylonian traditions (pp. 57 ff.). For the link of connection between these earlier traditions and their Babylonian analogues, we are therefore compelled to travel farther back.

According to the historical traditions of the Israelites themselves, the ancestors of the Hebrews started from Babylonia. It is, indeed, only in P that Ur of the Chaldees is represented as the ancestral home of Abraham. But various indications in J as well point to Babylonia as the starting-point of the great Hebrew migration Westward (cf. p. 172). A certain number of scholars[1] still find at this remote date the point of contact between the two streams of tradition. In their view, the people of Israel carried the Babylonian stories with them during the course of their wanderings, and afterwards along the current of national history, until their final appearance in literary form. We shall at a later stage argue for the essential trustworthiness of the tradition that traces the wanderings of the Hebrews from the plains of Babylonia. In all probability, therefore, the Hebrews did carry with them certain distant recollections of the scenery of the East. The enchanting picture of Paradise, for example, may well be coloured by traditional memories of the rich luxuriance of the Babylonian plains (cf. p. 57, n. 1). The dispersal of the human race from Babel (xi. 9) seems likewise best explained as a reminiscence of the migrations of

[1] Cf. Hommel, *Die altor. Denkmäler u. das A.T.* pp. 18, 31.

the Hebrews, among other nations, from the region of Babylon. But the thoroughgoing derivation of all the traditions incorporated in the separate documents of Genesis—exhibiting, as they do, such variety in the degree of their correspondence with the parallel traditions of Babylonia—from one common source so far removed from the age of their literary appearance, can hardly be entertained. Even had the nomad tribes that camped for some time in the neighbourhood of Babylon—for such was the early relation of the Hebrews to their Babylonian neighbours—been sufficiently interested in what were alien traditions to them, the preservation of detailed elements in that body of tradition for so many hundreds of years lies outside of all historical probability. And the general principle we have found to govern the correspondence of the traditions makes the theory still more improbable. Stories received from foreign sources become more and more transformed in the course of the centuries, yielding at last but mere hints and suggestions of their original sources. But in the case before us, the further removed we find ourselves from the fountainhead, the clearer and stronger is the resemblance (cf. pp. 43 ff.).

The friendship that existed between Hiram of Tyre and kings David and Solomon (1 Kings v. 15 ff.) has suggested the *via media* of Babylonian influence by way of Phœnicia, and about the period of the early monarchy.[1] This is possible, and, apart from more direct evidence, would be counted a plausible explanation. Recent archæological discoveries have, however, thrown new light on the problem.

[1] Cf. Well., *Prol.*[3] p. 322, n. 1; Schultz, *Old Testament Theology*, Eng. tr. vol. i. pp. 106 f.

As early as Sargon of Agade (not later than 3500 B.C.), Palestine was the scene of Babylonian invasions. His *Omina* mention no fewer than four different expeditions to the Westland (*KB*, iii. 102 ff.). He and his son Naramsin further proclaim themselves "the rulers of the four quarters of the world" (*ibid.*). A century later, the famous ruler Gudea of Lagash brought cedars from Lebanon, with gold and precious stones from Arabia, for his temples and palaces (*KB*, iii. 32 ff.). Though the dynasty of Ḫammurabi were more concerned with the affairs of their own kingdom, they also arrogate to themselves the title of "rulers of the four quarters of the world" (*KB*, iii. 108 ff.). And the tablets of Tel el-Amarna (*c.* 1400 B.C.)[1] are the clearest evidence how well founded the claim was, and how profound and penetrating the influence of Babylonia over Palestine was during these "dark ages." From these tablets it appears that Babylonian was the *lingua franca* of the leading nations of the East, the channel of official communication between the peoples of Palestine, Egypt, etc. The more recent discoveries at Lachish, Gezer, and Taanach show that Babylonian was the language commonly used in Palestine not merely for official correspondence, but likewise for private letters, business accounts, and State records.[2] The evidence of language is not to be lightly ruled out of court, as it is by Budde[3] and Giesebrecht,[4] for example. The analogy which the latter adduces is,

[1] Cf. Winckler's edition in *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. v.

[2] Cf. Sellin, *Ertrag der Ausgrabungen im Orient*, pp. 23 ff.; Sayce in *Exp. Times*, xv. 555 ff.

[3] *Das A.T. und die Ausgrabungen*, pp. 26 f.

[4] *Friede für Babel und Bibel*, pp. 21 f.

indeed, an illuminating illustration to the contrary.[1] The use of French as the language of diplomacy does not imply present French domination, but does point to an earlier period when French influence was widespread. And the history of the eighteenth century completely justifies the assumption. The Tel el-Amarna letters bear witness to a similar prevalence of Babylonian influence in the old world. The spirit of a people may, indeed, remain fresh and strong under the dress of a foreign language; but the adoption of that dress involves the acceptance of much besides—foreign influence also in clothing, manners, customs, art, etc. The recent discoveries in Palestine show the influence of Babylonian art.[2] Future excavations may have yet more to reveal. All this is presumptive evidence for the transmission of popular traditions as well. Such traditions are peculiarly liable to be carried from nation to nation. They have "the wandering impulse in their blood."[3] And the basis of common language paves the way for their wanderings. It is suggestive that the legends of Adapa (App. B, p. 335) and Ereshkigal (*KB*, vi. pp. 74 ff.) were first discovered among the treasures of Tel el-Amarna—both in the character of school exercises, for practice in the Babylonian language. These illustrations show Babylonian traditions in the actual course of transmission to the peoples then in Palestine. The tablets also suggest the means by

[1] "*Die französische Sprache ist bis heute diplomatische Sprache geblieben, obwohl die französische Vorherrschaft längst gebrochen ist*" (*op. cit.* p. 21, n. 1).

[2] Sellin, *op. cit.* p. 26.

[3] "*Mythen haben sicherlich den Wandertrieb im Blute*" (Budde, *op. cit.* p. 31).

which the traditions would most readily be carried. The use of the Babylonian language implies the presence of Babylonian scholars, teachers, and secretaries in the leading centres of Palestinian life. These scholars would naturally carry their national traditions, and transmit them to their new masters and pupils, as wandering scholars did in the Middle Ages. The illustrations we have just adduced show that Babylonian legends were actually used by these scholars as means of instruction in reading and writing the characters of Babylonia. In Tablet xi. ll. 13 ff., again, we find Burraburiash, king of Babylonia, complaining of a fatal outrage perpetrated against certain of his merchantmen while plying their business in Canaan. The letter implies a regular system of commercial intercourse between the dominant Empire and the Province of Palestine. By such means also Babylonian stories and traditions would be transmitted to Canaan, and circulated, not so much among scholars and princes, as among the body of the people, as news was spread by wandering chapmen and pedlars in more modern times.

We are prepared, then, to find that a large number of scholars[1] discover the point of contact between Israel and Babylonia here. The Babylonian traditions would first be transmitted, by such means as we have indicated, to the native Canaanites, and then after the settlement of Israel to the conquering Israelites, along with other

[1] Cf. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, pp. 147 ff.; *Hand-Komm.* pp. 35 f.; Holz., *Kurzer H.-C.* pp. 21 f.; Zimmern, *Bibl. u. Babyl. Urgeschichte*, pp. 39 f.; Driver, *Genesis*, pp. 30 ff.; *Authority and Archæology*, pp. 15 ff.; Whitehouse, art. "Cosmogony," *Dict. Bible*, i. p. 506; etc.

elements of influence. These traditions would probably have entered the heritage of Israel about the time of David, when Israel obtained complete ascendancy in the land.

If we are to accept any one definite period for the transmission of the Babylonian traditions, we must accept this conclusion. No later period covers the whole body of the traditions. And the interval this theory allows would be sufficient for the Babylonian traditions to be interpenetrated and transformed by the spirit of Israel. It fails, however, to explain the different degrees of Babylonian influence which we have found in different sections of the tradition, and especially to explain the closer approximation to the Babylonian original in the latest of the Hebrew documents (cf. p. 65). It seems to us, therefore, that no one particular epoch can be marked down as the point where the stream of Babylonian tradition touched Israel, that we have to deal not with an isolated phenomenon, but with a gradual, though intermittent, process—extending over a wide period of time.[1] We have already suggested that the local colouring of Paradise (ch. ii.) is tinged with distant memories of days of golden ease passed in the fertile plains of Babylonia, and that the dispersion of mankind from Babel (xi. 9) points back to the migration of the Hebrew peoples Westward to their new home, with its more stubborn soil and harder

[1] Budde also argues, against Winckler, that Babylonian influence over Israel flows "not in a constant, but an intermittent stream" (*Das A.T. u. die Ausgrabungen*, p. 35). Budde, however, traces the stream only through the regal period to the Exile (*op. cit.* pp. 36 ff.). Cheyne, too, holds that the influence continued to be exercised at various periods after the Amarna era (*Ency. Bibl.* i. pp. 948 f.).

drudgery (iii. 17 f.). The first point of contact being found in this remote past, the subsequent acceptance of alien traditions is more easily understood. For that we postulate three main eras: (1) To the Amarna period we ascribe the entrance into the stream of Canaanite (and Phœnician) tradition of such elements as the legend of Adapa, the traditions of sacred trees in the "garden of the gods," and the story of the unfinished tower of Babylon. Passed thence to Israel, and recast in course of transmission downwards through successive generations, these traditions have assumed the form of our present stories of Paradise and the Tower of Babel, of which the cruder version of Paradise preserved in the fragments ii. 9 and iii. 22, 24 and the story of Babel show "survivals" of old heathen conceptions of the Godhead, while the main story of Paradise has become transformed into a characteristically Hebrew (Israelitic) tale. (2) To the regal period, probably during the reign of Ahaz, we assign the transmission of the Flood story according to J^2, together with the legend of Nimrod, the geographical details incorporated in ii. 10–14 and x. 10–12, and some general knowledge of the Babylonian tradition of ten antediluvian kings. (3) To the Exile we refer P's more intimate and detailed acquaintance with Babylonian traditional lore, as revealed in his records of Creation (ch. i.) and the Flood (chs. vi.–ix.), his "genealogies" of the patriarchs (ch. v.), and his Table of the Nations (ch. x.).

Against the possibility of Babylonian influence at the two later dates, Gunkel has urged objections both of method and of fact:

1. For the transformation of the Babylonian legends into the pure gold we find in Genesis, a long period of transmission within the bounds of that nation must be postulated (*Sch. u. Chaos*, pp. 118 ff.). It is impossible to conceive the prophetic schools who preserved and finally committed to writing the traditions of their people, taking over and incorporating with these traditions tales so full of gross mythological imagination —especially at a time when "the prophetic movement had grown so strong and self-conscious" (*ibid.* pp. 144 ff.). Still less could the priestly writer, with his marked Jewish individuality, "have translated, revised, and prefixed to his own work a record so strongly mythological and polytheistic in its character, knowing as he did the heathen origin of the tradition" (*ibid.* pp. 135 f.).[1]

But this objection seems to rest on a misconception of the writer's character and methods. The Jahvistic narrators were not so much "sons of the prophets," as men of the people,—representatives, no doubt, of the best mind and conscience of the people, yet of them, and concerned to hand down the popular traditions as they received them from the people's lips, not hesitating to incorporate in their narratives stories which the sterner prophetic spirit would have rejected (cf. *infra*, pp. 94 f.). In the record under dispute (J^2) we find, *e.g.*, representations of Jahveh's "repenting" which were repugnant to the prophets (cf. Exeg. Note on vi. 6). The author of J^2 may have been a secretary

[1] Similar objections are raised by Holz., *Kurzer H.-C.* pp. 22 f.; Driver, *Genesis*, p. 31, and *Authority and Archæology*, pp. 15 ff.; Cheyne, *Traditions and Beliefs*, p. 2; and other scholars.

or attendant on the court of Ahaz when he visited the king of Assyria. At all events, he appears to have been a man of his people, devoted to Israel's faith and traditions indeed, but with a mind receptive to knowledge from other quarters. And, we should remember, the story that forms the main part of his narrative—the Flood—would have come to him, not as a body of mythological representations, but as an interesting tale, which he could readily introduce to his own people, in a literary and religious garb worthy of their high calling among nations. There is still less need to postulate a long period of transmission within the bounds of Israel for the purging of the mythological elements from the stories of the Creation and Flood, and their transformation into the pure and lofty monotheistic records of P. The priestly writer was a conscious and deliberate author, who handled his materials with sovereign freedom (cf. his treatment of the materials found in J). Whatever he derived from any source, he brought into harmony with his own conceptions and purposes. The writer's use of Babylonian material would indeed seem "unthinkable"[1] if we held with Sayce (*Exp. Times*, vii. p. 543) that he "had the Babylonian version before him," carefully studying it, and "deliberately contradicting it when it used polytheistic and mythological conceptions, or narrowed the omnipotence of God." The acquaintance with details of Babylonian tradition which we postulate for P is not such deliberate literary study of the cuneiform records, but rather the practical knowledge which comes from an intelligent appreciation of one's surroundings, and a sympathetic

[1] *Religionsgeschichtlich ein Undanke* (Gunk., *op. cit.* p. 136).

interest in new regions of truth. We find similar examples of assimilation of Babylonian knowledge, combined with the strongest Jewish patriotism and religious sentiment, in Ezekiel, Deutero-Isaiah, and the Babylonian Talmudists. With all their devotion to Israel and its God, and all their hatred for the superstition and idolatry they saw around them, these men were yet ready to embrace new knowledge even from their heathen environment.[1]

2. Gunkel (*op. cit.* pp. 88 ff.; cf. *Hand-K.* pp. 111 ff.) brings forward an impressive array of passages to prove that the Jews actually knew the story of the conflict of Tiamat and Marduk (*Seven Tables*, iv. 95 ff.) from an early date. But a closer examination of these passages shows that several, at least, have no reference to Tiamat. Among these are certainly to be classed the only two pre-exilic passages which Gunkel cites: Amos ix. 3*b*, where the "serpent" is not the dragon of the deep, but the "biting serpent," which is parallel to the "sword" (ver. 4*a*) as an instrument of Divine vengeance, and Isa. xxx. 7, where Rahab = Egypt, and is even then universally regarded as a later gloss. These two passages being eliminated, there exists no real evidence for the knowledge of the Tiamat myth in Israel previous to the Exile.

As no valid objection remains, our theory of gradual, intermittent influence seems best to explain the various facts of the case.

[1] A suggestive illustration of the use made of Babylonian traditions for their own purposes is found in the versions of Damascius and Berosus (App. B, p. 325 f.), who both find in the Babylonian myths symbolical representations of Greek philosophical ideas.

The elements drawn from Babylonian sources being set aside, we have but the original nucleus (ii. 5 ff., iv. 1, 17 ff.), the story of Cain and Abel (iv. 2–16), the *liaisons* of the angels (vi. 1–4), the older Noah section (v. 29, ix. 20–27), the Jahvistic line of descent from Shem (x. 21, 24 f.), and the migration of Abram (xi. 28 ff.), to deal with.

The ultimate sources of these various traditions may be traced from their local and historical colouring. The original nucleus has already been described as a collection of desert traditions. It will afterwards be shown (cf. p. 188) that the table in iv. 17 ff. is a Kenite genealogy. We may, therefore, regard this account of the creation of the world and man, and the dawn of civilisation, as part of the old Kenite tradition, brought with them into the common stock of Israel's lore, when they joined the confederacy of the twelve tribes, and effected their settlement in the Negeb of Judah (cf. Judg. i. 16). The story of Cain and Abel, on the other hand, is evidently an Israelite tradition, which has grown up on Palestinian soil (cf. pp. 189 f.). The older tradition of Noah and his sons belongs to the same category. On the other hand, the story of the angels' connections with mortal women, with the appearance of the Canaanite race of Nephilim as their offspring, clearly points to an original Canaanite source. The genealogical line of Shem and his descendants shows Mesopotamian colouring (cf. Exeg. Notes). Thither the Jahvistic writer points us for the beginnings of the stream of distinctively Israelite tradition, though faint suggestions lead farther east to Babylonia (cf. p. 172).

We may sum up the results of this chapter as follows:

I. Traditions purely Israelite—(1) Reminiscences of their wanderings in the East: the scenic colouring of Paradise (ii. 8 ff.), the dispersal from Babel (xi. 8 f.), the descent from Arpachshad (x. 24), the Mesopotamian line (xi. 14 ff.), and the migrations of Abram (xi. 28 ff.). (2) Palestinian traditions: Noah and his sons (ix. 20 ff.), Cain and Abel (iv. 2 ff.).

II. Traditions introduced by the Kenite allies of Israel: the origin of the world (ii. 5 ff.), the line of aboriginal patriarchs (iv. 1, 17 ff.), and the beginnings of civilisation (iv. 20 ff.).

III. Tradition derived from the Canaanites: the *amours* of the angels (vi. 1–4).

IV. Traditions transmitted from the Babylonians—(1) Through Canaanite influence in the earlier period: the raw materials of the narratives of Paradise and the Fall (chs. ii., iii.), and the tower of Babel (xi. 1 ff.). (2) Directly, about the reign of Ahaz: the Flood story of J^2, a general acquaintance with ten antediluvian patriarchs (iv. 25 f.), and knowledge of Babylonian and Assyrian geography and legends (ii. 10 ff., x. 8 ff.). (3) Again directly, during the Exile: P's more minute acquaintance with these traditions, as shown in his account of Creation (ch. i.), his elaborate line of patriarchs (ch. v.), and his story of the Flood (chs. vi.–ix.).

We have next to investigate the real character of these traditions.

CHAPTER IV.

Myth and Legend.

Among all other nations, the glimmering dawn that precedes the clear daylight of history is filled with the wondrous creations of myth and legend. The chaste religious spirit of the Biblical narratives has raised a natural prejudice against their classification in the same category. But the results we have already reached compel us to accept that conclusion. "History reposes, however remotely, on contemporary witness to the fact narrated."[1] In the case of the early narratives of Genesis, we have an interval of thousands of years between the events recorded and their fixing in literary form. The interval is bridged over by oral tradition, which naturally lends itself to myth and legend. The tone and colour of these early stories in Genesis are, moreover, in close harmony with the complexion of other legendary lore. Their world is a wonderland of fancy and imagination, in which God and man walk together in familiar intercourse, and animals are endowed with reason and speech, and live in harmonious friendship with man, a wonderland, too, in which the various problems that press on the spirit of man find their explanation and solution. And if the ultimate source of most of the narratives be

[1] *Ency. Brit.*, art. "History," p. 19.

Babylonia, we cannot justly withhold from the derivatives the title which we should unhesitatingly apply to the originals.[1]

The prejudice against myth and legend is largely due to the confusion which has gathered around these terms and obscured their real character. From the days of Plato's polemic against the Greek myths, the idea has largely prevailed that "myths" are false, fictitious tales,[2] and therefore unworthy either of credence or of intelligent respect. As no clear line of distinction was drawn between myths and "legends," these, too, have been included in the same condemnation. But myth and legend are both natural products of the human mind at certain stages of its development, and should therefore be treated with the same respect that we owe to all that is natural and human.[3]

The spheres of myth and legend are closely related. Often they pass one into the other. In general, however, we can distinguish their respective bounds. The former is the Greek *μύθος*, originally applied to the tales regarding the gods in which Greek mythology was so rich,[4] and thence extended to cover that whole world of primitive imagination in which God or the gods are conceived as playing a literal, visible part on the stage of the world's history. The latter is the Latin *legenda*,

[1] The presence of "myth"—as distinguished from "mythology"—is recognised, or at least not ruled out of account, by Prof. Orr (*Problem of the O. T.* p. 486) in such traditions as that of Eden. On the distinction, cf. *infra*, pp. 79 f.

[2] Cf. Plato, *Rep.*, Book II. § 377 A, where *μύθοι* are classed under *ψεῦδος*, 'fictitious literature," as against *ἀληθές*, "truthful history."

[3] "*Heilig waren von jeher allen Völkern die Mythen ihrer Religion; heilig bleiben auch die unsern*" (Buttmann, *Mythologus*, i. p. 208).

[4] Cf. Plato, *Rep.*, Book II. §§ 377 ff.

"things that ought to be read," in the first instance applied to the edifying tales of the saints in the Roman Catholic Hagiographa, and thence used in the wider significance of the tales of heroes on the borderland between myth and strict history.

The formation of myth begins with the very dawn of human intelligence. Man no sooner awakes to his first childlike consciousness than he finds himself surrounded by a universe of strange, mysterious beauty and interest, affecting his own life in manifold ways, which he must needs express to himself in language suited to his present mental development. As he cannot conceive of this universe save in terms of personality, Nature being regarded as dominated and inspired by living supernatural powers, this attempt to express his varied relations to Nature naturally assumes the form of myths, or "tales regarding the gods," which do not, indeed, constitute the essence of religion, but are as little a mere "parasite" or "disease."[1] At this primitive stage of human development the two are intimately associated, myth being an essential and highly significant expression of religious imagination.

The growth of myth is thus as complex and manifold as the varying attitude of primitive minds to the universe.[2] We may, however, distinguish two main classes:

[1] Max Müller, *Gifford Lectures*, ii. pp. 277 ff., and elsewhere.

[2] Cf. Réville's suggestive article, "De la Complexité des Mythes et des Legendes," in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, xiii. pp. 189 ff. On the growth and development of myths, cf. also Buttmann's epoch-making investigation (*op. cit.* i. pp. 208 ff.). The failure to do justice to the many-sidedness of these expressions of primitive imagination, and the consequent attempt to explain all alike by the same key (astral movements, etc.), lead to what we can only regard as the highly arbitrary constructions of Winckler and his school.

1. A more direct, spontaneous, poetic form of myth. The primitive mind, like that of the child, is imaginative. It looks out on Nature, as we have just suggested, not as a dull dead sphere where abstract laws operate, but as the bright and beautiful home of personal Beings, who display their grace and power in the "works of Nature." Thus, the dawn is conceived as the white-winged, rosy-fingered Eos, or Aurora, the lover of all freshness and beauty; the sun is the unwearied charioteer Helios, or Apollo; the thunder is the sound of Zeus' or (in Scandinavian mythology) Thor's crashing hammer, and the lightning the gleam of their flashing arrows. In the Babylonian myth, the Flood is represented as the going forth of the assembled gods to battle against their foes (cf. Col. ii. 42 ff.). In the widely prevalent Semitic myth, the relation of the seasons is expressed in the tragic drama of Tammuz or Adonis, while in the wonder-world of Greek mythology every spring, grotto, wood or hill is the favourite haunt of nymph or grace or god. By the spontaneous working of this personifying imagination, a whole world of mythological figures and actions come to the birth. The popular imagination plays in the same poetic fashion around the personalities of the gods. Their personal character being once definitely ascribed to them, stories illustrative of, or simply in keeping with, their character cluster around them,—stories of their relations one to another, as well as of their doings on earth. In this imaginative clothing of the personalities of the gods lies very much of the charm of heathen, and especially Greek, mythology. The halls of Olympus are as full of personal interest as any palace or home in the land. The life of the gods has become

the ideal reflection of the rich, glad life of this lower sphere.

Of this type of mythology, the Old Testament is practically free. Save for a few bold metaphors, like Jahveh's "riding on a chariot," "marching from Edom" to join in the battle against His people's foes, "shooting forth His fiery arrows," and such like, there is nothing in that literature even to suggest a Jahvistic mythology. Apart from the exalted dignity of the character of Jahveh, the monotheism of the Hebrew Scriptures would have prevented a mythological development. A luxuriant growth of mythology demands not only a quick and lively imagination, but the free play of a number of distinct personalities, mingled together in manifold relations, such as can be found only in the polytheistic religions. "Monotheism dried up the springs of mythology." [1]

2. A more reflective style of myth.

The mind of primitive man is as naturally inquisitive as that of the child. He is continually asking questions about the Whence? and the How? and Why? of things. What is the origin of the great Universe he finds all round and about him? Whence came the bright sun and stars of heaven? Whence that sapphire firmament? How was the earth made? And whence came man? Why stands he erect, exalted above the lower creatures, with power to rule them in spite of their power and terror, and with feelings and aspirations after God and right in his soul? What were the first beginnings of social order and progress? And whence came the ills

[1] Caird, *Evolution of Religion*, i. 252. Cf. Goldziher, *Der Mythos bei den Hebräern*, p. 64.

that flesh is heir to? Why must man suffer hardships and pains and sorrows? And why must he die and be forgotten?

These obstinate questions men answered, like children, not by abstract reasonings, for which the primitive mind had no capacity, but by concrete tales,[1] of how God or the gods made and ordained all these things, and appointed the destinies of men. For the mind of primitive man is instinct with religious feeling. He conceives the higher Powers to be the direct and all-sufficient Cause of all that is. And in their action and decree in long-past ages, he finds the explanation of the problems that press on him.

This class of myths we define by the general name of *ætiological* (myths of cause). The class further subdivides itself into such forms as *cosmogonic-*, *creation-*, *culture-*, *family-myths*, and the like, according to the different phenomena they seek to explain.

The existence of ætiological myths in the Book of Genesis is apparent. The stories of creation, the narratives of the making of man from the ground and of woman from the rib of the man, the Fall, the tale of the union between the angels and mortal women, and similar narratives, clearly belong to the same class as the ætiological myths of other nations. We must, therefore, pursue our study of these myths into further detail.

A long history lies behind the present literary form of myths. They were originally separate stories, which have gradually coalesced into larger aggregates. These earlier stories may be traced to a diversity of causes:

[1] On the concreteness of the primitive mind, cf. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, i. pp. 392 ff.; A. Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, i. pp. 49 f.

e.g., language, proverbs and riddles, songs, rites and ceremonies, observations of Nature and natural processes, the analogy of human experiences, etc. In the mythical lore of all nations, too, elements have come from other countries. For mythical narratives are characteristically given to wandering.[1] But, from whatever sources the raw materials and component elements of myth are derived, they are all alike remoulded by the national genius of the people, and worked up into its own peculiar heritage. We have suggestive illustrations of the transformation of myths in the history of Greek mythology. The raw materials here are derived from the common Indo-European stock, from which the Roman myths likewise sprung. But the glowing imagination of the Greeks has thrown a halo of Divine beauty around the forms which remain so cold and colourless in the Roman mythology. And the elements which Greece has borrowed from the East are "newborn at home, by right of a new, informing, combining spirit playing over those mere elements, and touching them" with the "wonderful sense" of beauty and dignity which marked the Greek spirit, "so that in all things the Greeks are as discoverers."[2] The worship of both Dionysus and Aphrodite, for example, was Oriental in origin; but in both cases the Greek spirit has so transformed the foreign elements that Dionysus has become the patron-god of so peculiarly Greek an institution as the tragic drama, while Aphrodite represents for all time the Hellenic ideal of love and beauty.

[1] Cf. p. 67. For illustrations, cf. A. Lang, *Custom and Myth*, pp. 87 ff.

[2] Walter Pater, *Greek Studies*, p. 225. Cf. also Hegel's suggestive remarks in his *Philosophy of History*, Eng. tr. pp. 247 f.

To the student of ancient religions, then, the study of myths is of far more importance than is often allowed.

1. Myth does not, indeed, carry us back to the origins of religion. For that purpose, the cultus, which represents the traditional and conservative element in religion, must be studied.[1] But a nation's myths reveal to us their early thoughts about religion, as well as their first attempts to understand the nature of the world and man. They may thus be described as "primitive philosophies of religion" and "primitive science" in one. They thus claim the same reverential interest as the "lispings of infancy" and the first prophetic utterances of a great nation's genius in literature or art. But in themselves as well, a nation's myths are full of interest and significance. Each nation has its own peculiar genius. And a subtle harmony of feeling and imagination links its earliest thoughts with the deep reflections of its master-minds. There is a real spiritual harmony between the old myths of the Greek people, for example, and the speculations of their poets and philosophers. The former may be crude, with many "silly, senseless and savage"[2] elements bound up in them, but they turn round the same problems as confronted the later thinkers. And in their own childlike way, they often answer the questions in the same way as the greater spirits. In their "stammering" utterances, they give expression to thoughts of deep significance, which became the germs of the higher thoughts of after ages. Thus it is that the poets and philosophers of Greece find in the myths and legends of their race the best vehicle to express their

[1] Cf. W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 17 ff.
[2] Max Müller, *ap.* Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, p. 8.

own thoughts and imaginations about the deep things of God and man. Hence, too, the perennial significance of the myths of spiritually-minded and imaginative nations like Greece and India. Even for us these early creations are full of spiritual suggestiveness and haunting beauty.[1]

2. As a real expression of the living spirit of the nation, a people's myths are the mirror of its religious and moral ideals, aspirations, and imaginations. It is no doubt true that the traditional religion of rite and ceremony may be more sober and pure than its mythology.[2] The irrational and immoral elements in mythology come not so much from native depravity of mind as from attempts to explain natural processes in terms of human life and action. Nevertheless, an intimate relation does exist between a people's religion and its mythology. The intelligent mind could not rest content with the mere observance of stated ceremonies. He sought also to represent to himself the nature and character of the gods he worshipped. And undoubtedly the mass of the people thought of the gods as they were represented in the current mythology. It is evident from many passages in Plato,[3] for example, that even the higher minds of his day in Greece drew their conceptions of the gods from the poems of Homer and Hesiod, while the lower class of the people harboured far cruder ideas of their character.[4] This is no doubt true in general. The

[1] Cf. Hegel on the "eternal truth" of the creations of the Greek spirit (*op. cit.* pp. 249 f.).

[2] Cf. Farnell, *Cult of the Greek States*, i. p. ix.; Lyall, *Asiatic Studies*, i. pp. 66 f.

[3] Cf. *Rep.*, Book II. § 377 ff.; Book III. § 389 ff.

[4] Cf. Pausanias, *passim*.

cultus formed the traditional and conservative element in ancient religions. The creations of mythology represented the ideal element, which grew with the people's growth, and embodied their conceptions of the character and ways of the gods. Thus, too, mythology is vitally related to morality. The world of myth is profoundly influenced by the expanding moral ideals of the nation. To that influence, more than any other, is due the gradual transformation of myths among the higher nations. The comparison of Greek mythology as represented respectively in Homer and Hesiod shows how the moral idealism of Homer "selected instinctively the purer mythical materials, and burned away the coarser dross of antique legend, leaving little but the gold which is comparatively refined" (A. Lang), and bequeathing this "golden treasury" as a heritage to his people.[1] And in the protests against the "immoralities" which still remained in Homer's Olympus,[2] we find expressed the higher moral sense of purer minds. The gods of Olympus were regarded as ideals of Greek character and life. And, it was felt, their own character must correspond with the loftiest moral aspirations of the people. Thus Plato demands that their character be purged of all that is unworthy, undignified, and immoral.[3] It is no less true that the myths of a people influence their conduct. Men naturally seek to follow the example of the gods they worship.[4] Thus the

[1] Cf. the famous statement in Herod., Book II. ch. 53.

[2] Cf. Pythagoras, Xenophanes, etc., but especially Socrates and Plato (*loc. cit.*; *Laws*, §§ 886 C, 941 B; and other passages).

[3] *Rep.*, Book III. § 389 ff.

[4] Cf. Plato, *Theætetus*, § 176 B (ὁμοιῶσις θέῳ κατὰ τὸ δύνατον as the end of conduct).

protests against the immoral tendency of the current Greek mythology were only too well justified. Men pled the example of the gods in justification for their own ill deeds.[1] And the only salvation that wise men like Plato could conceive for the people was a purer mythology, embodying worthier representations of the life and doings of the gods.[2] Nothing could better illustrate the indestructible vitality and the moral influence of myths on primitive minds.[3]

As the reflection of a nation's religious and moral ideals, therefore, myth is of first importance for the understanding of the real spirit of ancient religions. It may be maintained with justice, indeed, that the future of a nation's religion is bound up with the character of its myths. The religion whose myths can satisfy the growing moral ideals of later ages will survive. That whose myths fail to stand this ordeal must perish with its people.

The growth of legend is also inseparably connected with the development of early society. A nation's prehistoric age is not an empty stage. It is the scene of many epoch-making events, movements, and migrations, wars of freedom and conquest, and the coalescence of separate tribes into powerful nations. In this twilight period of history, indeed, the nation is usually born, and started on its definite career in life. But in these early ages there are no contemporary historians to chronicle the nation's birth and early struggles towards

[1] Cf. Plato, *Euthyphro*, 5 E, 6 A.

[2] *Rep.* § 414 ff.; cf. Plato's own myths, through which he seeks to express his deepest conceptions of God and human nature.

[3] Cf. the relation between myth and expanding moral ideals in the case of Indian religions of the present day (Lyall, *Asiatic Studies*, ii. 79 ff.).

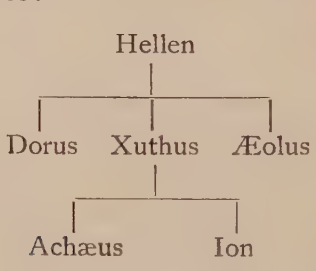
manhood. The memory of these events is handed down, instead, by oral tradition, one generation telling the tale to the next. In the course of transmission, the complexion of national traditions is insensibly altered. Imagination plays around the dry facts of the story, glorifying, exalting, and idealising them. The result is legend, or historical tradition "halo-girt with fancy," the history of the nation arrayed in the poetic dress it receives through centuries of contact with the fresh, creative national spirit.

Legend is likewise charged with vivid personal interest. The legendary traditions crystallise round the figures of great heroes who led the people to illustrious deeds. The heroes who thus cross the stage of prehistoric tradition are sometimes real characters, whose personality has impressed itself upon the popular imagination, and won immortality for their names. But often they are but personifications of tribes, clans, or peoples, or "heroes eponymi" called into being to explain the origin of historical facts, movements, families, or nations. Greek legendary lore is full of such figures: *e.g.*, Hellen, the *eponymus* of the Hellenic nation, with his sons Dorus, Xuthus, and Æolus, and grandsons Achæus and Ion, the representatives of the leading races of Greece; Cadmus (קֶדֶם, "the East"), the hero of Oriental (Phœnician) influence; Dædalus (*δαίδαλα*, "curious works"), the eponymous founder and representative of the arts; and all the innumerable "eponymi" of districts, cities, mountains, families, guilds, etc., that flit across the pages of Pausanias.[1]

A special phase of national legend is seen in

[1] Cf. i. 38. 7, 40. 1; ii. 1. 1, etc.

genealogy. The tendency to genealogise is partly personal—springing naturally from the desire of patrician families to trace their descent back to the old heroes of the race. This tendency appears very markedly among the Greeks and Arabs, who were especially proud of their long pedigrees, and derived their family history, through imaginary "eponymi" and "dummy ancestors,"[1] from the gods. But the tendency is seen also—and historically this would appear to be the earlier tendency of the two—on a wider tribal or national scale. Nearly connected clans, tribes, or nations were united in terms of family relationship. Thus, for example, the various races contained within the unity of Greece were connected by the following tree:



and thence traced back through Deucalion, father of Hellen, to Prometheus, and thence to Zeus. With the growing knowledge of the Greeks, this first simple tree was greatly expanded and extended, the new nations with whom the Greeks came into contact

[1] W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*, p. 11. Cf. also Pausanias, i. 38. 7 ("For the ancients, when they had no data for their pedigrees, invented fictitious ones, and especially in the pedigrees of heroes").

being related in many different ways to the aboriginal (as they believed) Greek stock.[1] The genealogical principle is also abundantly illustrated in the Arab genealogists, according to whom the Arabian groups "were all patriarchal tribes, formed, by subdivision of an original stock, on the system of kinship through male descent."[2] But the tendency was much more widespread among early peoples. It was indeed the way in which these peoples expressed their consciousness of national relations, ethnological, political, or geographical; and thus, though the genealogies are themselves valueless as records of personal lineage, they are full of importance as reflections of the relation their authors conceived to exist between their own people and other nations.

It is apparent from the foregoing presentation, that we cannot dismiss national legends as mere empty fables. As the deposits of national tradition, arrayed in the fair garb of fresh and spontaneous poetry, they always embody a substantia basis of historical fact underneath the imaginative dress.[3] And this basis is probably much larger than the Western educated mind is inclined to allow. It is impossible for us adequately to realise the strength and tenacity of memory possessed by peoples which have only oral tradition to safeguard their past from oblivion. Students of anthropology are often surprised by the correspondence of tribal traditions

[1] Cf. the genealogical trees in Grote, *History of Greece*, i. 112 ff.

[2] W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*, pp. 2 f.

[3] "They are no empty creations of the fancy, but in them the actual deeds of the early age are personified and endowed with life" (Curtius, *History of Greece*, Eng. tr. i. p. 60). Cf. Freeman, *Historical Essays*, ii. 1 ff.

to discovered facts. "Even small events are placed on record with an accuracy and permanence that yield only to written history."[1] In more cultivated nations we have the quickened imagination of the people to reckon with. But here, too, the imagination plays not around shadows, but around substantial realities. And archæological discovery has helped to impress upon us the essential trustworthiness of tradition. It is impossible that the spade will ever verify Homer, for example, for the poems of Homer are poetry, not history. But discoveries on the site of Troy, as in other centres of "Mycenæan culture," have made us realise the truth of the poems to the life of the age.[2] While recent studies of the primæval age of Greece, and explorations in such centres of influence as Crete, have proved to us that behind the dark, mysterious legends that were often curtly dismissed as fabulous, there exist abiding impressions of a bygone age of heroic enterprise and achievement.

1. In national legends we may then look for reminiscences of prehistoric movements and exploits of tribes and nations. These are found not only in actual traditions of invasions, immigrations, wars, and conquests, but also in the "genealogical" relations of tribes and nations as shown in the different "trees." It is usually, of course, impossible to verify the witness borne by such traditions, the legends themselves being their only evidence. But the correspondence between tradition

[1] Tylor, *Early History of Mankind*, pp. 306 f. Cf. remarkable examples n his *Anthropology*, pp. 373 f.

[2] Cf. Jebb's wise words in his review of Schliemann's *Ilios* (*Edin. Review*, 1889, pp. 517 ff.).

and ascertained fact, where comparison is possible, is strong enough to raise the presumption of their substantial truth.

2. But we expect also to find the emergence of real historical characters. As has been observed, many of the figures that cross the stage of popular tradition are mere personifications of tribes and nations, or *heroes eponymi* of districts, families, or crafts. But along with these, the names and deeds of great kings, leaders, and chiefs are enshrined in legend. Again, we are usually left without certain proof. But there are tests we can apply: partly our own historical feeling,—a subjective witness, it is true, yet an instinct that often guides us aright,—and partly the evidence of names, and correspondence with ascertained facts and situations, and the subsequent development of the nation, and other such lines of argument.

3. Apart, however, from the historical basis of legend, the study of these products of the popular imagination is full of instruction for a true appreciation of the national character. Through the idealising play of that imagination, the heroes of the prehistoric age become immortal embodiments of the people's ideals. Thus, for example, "the characteristic features of a Greek are much more distinctly seen in Odysseus and Achilles, and those of a German in Siegfried and Hagon, than in any historical personages belonging to these nations."[1] So also in our present field of study, Abraham is the peerless type of the faithful "man of God," for Old Testament revelation a more instructive figure than all

[1] Schultz, *Old Testament Theology*, Eng. tr. i. 19, n. 1. Cf. Curtius, *History of Greece*, i. 136 ff.

the kings of Israel from Saul to Zedekiah." While "in Jacob-Israel the Israelite is more truly delineated than in any personage mentioned in Kings or Chronicles."[1]

On these principles, then, we may classify the early narratives of Genesis as follows:

I. MYTHICAL NARRATIVES.

i. Cosmogonic myths—setting forth the orderly evolution of the Universe: ii. 4*b* ff. (J) and i. 1–ii. 4*a* (P).

ii. Myths of Creation—explaining the origin and relation of man and woman: ii. 7, 18 ff. (J) and i. 26 ff. (P).

iii. Problem myths — explaining the mysteries of hardship, suffering, and death: chs. iii. and vi. 1–3 (both J).

iv. Culture myths — showing the beginnings of civilisation: iv. 20–22, ix. 20 (J).

v. Ritual myths—explaining the origin of religious institutions: ii. 2 f., ix. 1 ff. (P).

vi. Family myth—tracing the origin of the Nephilim: vi. 1, 2, 4 (J).

II. LEGENDS WITH MYTHICAL COLOURING.

i. The story of the Flood: chs. vi.–viii. (J^2 and P).

ii. The Tower of Babel: xi. 1 ff. (J).

III. HISTORICAL AND HEROIC LEGENDS.

i. Kenite tribal legend, with genealogy: iv. 1, 17 ff. (J).

ii. Early Israelite legend, with genealogy: xi. 10 ff. (J and P).

[1] Schultz, *op. cit.* p. 22.

iii. Legend of Babylonian and Assyrian Empires: x. 8 ff. (J^2).

iv. Legend of the peoples of Palestine: ix. 21 ff. (J).

v. Later Palestinian legend of Cain and Abel: iv. 2–16 (J).

Following the principles of interpretation laid down on pp. 83 ff., we shall seek in the former class of narratives reflections of the moral and religious ideals of the Hebrews—their thoughts of God and the world, human life, duty and destiny, and the first rude beginnings of civilised society, and in the latter idealised pictures of life and character, with reminiscences and adumbrations of real historical facts and personalities.

As, however, these narratives are deposits of Hebrew tradition at various stages, from widely different sources, and in distinct literary styles, questions naturally arise: To what extent are the traditions influenced by their alien origin, and by the literary and religious individuality of the writers? And what period or periods of religious development in Israel may they be held legitimately to cover?

The first question has been already implicitly answered. Several of the traditions incorporated in Gen. i.–xi. come from Canaanite and Babylonian sources. But it has been shown in detail how completely they have been recast and transformed by the religious genius of Israel. In at most three passages (iii. 22, 24, vi. 1 f., and xi. 1 ff.) have we still "survivals" of old heathen conceptions of the Godhead. In all other respects, these early traditions have been "born again"

as pure and (in their spiritual aspect) original creations of the Hebrew spirit. As truly as Dionysus and Aphrodite, notwithstanding their Oriental origin, are Hellenic types of tragedy, love, and beauty (cf. p. 82), are the stories of Creation, the Fall, and the Flood genuine products of the Hebrew genius, and therefore clear-shining reflections of Hebrew conceptions of God and His ways with men.

The question regarding the influence of individuality is more complex. A writer of genius will hardly fail to stamp his own personality upon his works, and thus to colour them by his own literary and spiritual idiosyncrasies. The deliberate literary craftsman will also shape and mould his materials to subserve his peculiar purpose. We have seen examples of this latter influence in P's handling of his materials (pp. 29 ff.). A literary genius like J, the charm of whose stories has won admiration in all ages, might well be supposed to colour them with bright tints of his own mixing. And if he were a distinctively "prophetic" writer, as Kuenen and Driver describe him,[1] he would inevitably give a "prophetic" tone to his narrative. The literary colouring we may admit—though much of it may be due to the natural art of the popular traditions he has thrown upon the canvas. A certain amount of literary arrangement of materials must also be admitted. But the so-called "prophetic" character of the Jahvistic narrative is open to challenge. There are, no doubt, many moral and spiritual ideas common to J and the prophets. This, because the prophets rose from the midst of their people, preaching no new faith, but rather

[1] Kuenen, *Hexateuch*, pp. 226 ff. ; Driver, *Introduction*, pp. 117 ff.

bringing into clear light and emphasis truths that were already latent in the people's faith. But the mental attitude and expression of J and the prophets are alike different. They were charged with a definite message from God to their people, and this was the burden of all their "words." J's narrative is, indeed, suffused with religious feeling and imagination. But all that savours of *doctrinaire* teaching or preaching is absent. The narrative is simply exquisite story-telling. Thus J admits into his narrative much that would have offended the "prophetic" conscience: *e.g.* the crude conceptions of the Divine nature and character already referred to (iii. 22, 24, vi. 1 ff., xi. 1 ff.), the strong anthropomorphisms (ii. 21 f., iii. 8 ff., xi. 5 ff., etc.), and anthropopathisms (vi. 5 ff., viii. 21 f., etc.), and such morally offensive tales as xix. 30 ff., xxvi. 6 ff., xxvii., xxx. 25 ff., xxxiv., xxxviii., etc. — all told without suggestion of moral reflection or condemnation. Such phenomena would indicate that J was rather a "popular" writer, who collected and reproduced in matchless literary style the current traditions of the people—the better element of the people, who kept alive the true traditions of the Jahveh religion amid much defection (cf. 1 Kings xix. 18). The garb in which the traditions are arrayed belongs to him. The actual body of tradition is the people's own. And therefore the moral and religious ideas that shine through them are not the author's peculiar thoughts of God and man, but the conceptions common to him with the "people of Jahveh."[1]

[1] In his recently published *Geschichte der Althebräischen Literatur*, Budde also describes J as "*the* source for the pre-prophetic religion of Israel" (p. 62).

P's literary method is more individual. But his viewpoint is no mere individual one. He represents also the class to which he belongs—the priestly profession. The conceptions underlying his presentation of early history are the dominant beliefs of the later Judaism, moulded and enforced by the influential priestly caste.

This leads to the further question: Within what periods of religious development do the different narratives move? Strictly, the ideas embodied in the separate documents are those of the writer's own time. But the growth of popular tradition is a slow and gradual one. We must conceive the ideas that mirror themselves in the Jahvistic writer to be those cherished—by the better spirits in Israel, as we have said—generation after generation, and but little altered in each successive age. For the source of the stream we are carried back to Moses, the creator of the nation, and the first great prophet of Jahvism. The traditions embodied in J are in fact the normal expression of the religion of Israel, as transmitted by the spiritual children of Moses. Here then we have the "mirror" of the Jahveh-religion, as it developed freely and naturally in the devout circles in the land.

The priestly narrative, on the other hand, reflects the thought of the Exile, as it crystallised under priestly influence. Originally an esoteric system of doctrine, in its inner spirit hostile to free spiritual life, it nevertheless won its way to the throne, and continued to dominate Jewish belief and practice during the succeeding centuries.

CHAPTER V.

Israel's Conception of God.

In ancient worship the essential element was no doubt cultus rather than dogma. "Religion in primitive times was not a system of belief with practical applications; it was a body of fixed traditional practices, to which every member conformed as a matter of course."[1] Yet men could not always blindly worship an unknown god They inevitably sought to form conceptions of the objects of their adoration. Religion, even in its crudest form, implies a certain personal relation between the worshipper and the Powers above. And to enjoy this relation, men must have some real conception of the nature and character of the Higher Powers. Among primitive nations, as we have just seen, these conceptions are embodied in myths, or tales regarding the doings of the God or gods they worship. In these, then, we have the mirror of the popular religion from its ideal and progressive side. Thus from the character of a nation's myths, as we have contended, we gain a true index of the permanent worth of its religion. The traditional cultus fails at length to satisfy the spirit. Men seek for a God whom they can reverence and love. And thus, as the bounds which divide the nations and their heritage

[1] W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 20 f.

are broken down, and faith comes into conflict with faith, the dominant faith is that which meets this deepest need of the spirit, and offers to seeking souls a God worthy of their worship.

1. In the scientific comparison of traditions, the most notable feature in the Hebrew myths is the universal assumption of the *unity* of God. In the Babylonian myths of Creation, and indeed throughout their religious literature, we find a vast medley of different gods, with different spheres assigned to each, yet often wrangling and struggling together for the mastery.[1] All other developed religions show the same polytheistic character. It is true, monotheistic tendencies do appear at certain stages of some of the more advanced religions. In Egypt, for example, we have Chuenaten's resolute attempt to suppress the old polytheism in favour of his own purified sun-worship. Among the Greek philosophers, too, we find lofty "monotheistic" conceptions of the Divine Being. The monotheism of the Hebrews has even been traced to a supposed original "monotheism" among the Babylonians (cf. Delitzsch, *Babel u. Bibel*, pp. 44 f.). But in all these cases the monotheistic tendency touched but the circumference of the religion. Chuenaten's reform proved more political than religious, and quickly gave place to a stronger current of reaction in favour of the "old gods." The monotheism of the Greek philosophers was purely abstract, while the wise men of Babylonia never advanced beyond the temporary elevation of one particular god to the supremacy. Apart from the Hebrew world, the "monotheistic tendency"

[1] Cf. pp. 44 ff. Cf. also Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 48 ff.

nowhere became a real part of the popular faith.[1] The tendency among all other nations was rather to add to the number of their gods. As the bounds of Empire extended, the gods of the incorporated nations were also admitted to the Imperial pantheon. Not even the nations most nearly allied to Israel were monotheists. The pre-Islamic religion of Arabia was grossly polytheistic.[2] Even Moab and Ammon, whose tribal gods, Chemosh and Milcom, most strongly resembled Jahveh the God of Israel, readily lapsed into the worship of "other gods."[3] Of all the nations, Israel alone maintained intact, though through many struggles and failures, the worship of one God. And this characteristic appears as strongly marked in the old myths of the people as in the loftier preachings of the prophets. In some of the cruder elements incorporated by J (iii. 22, 24, xi. 1 ff.), we do, indeed, find Jahveh surrounded by a court of Godlike beings, with

[1] Cf. A. Jeremias, *Monotheistische Strömungen innerhalb der Babyl. Religion.* According to Jensen (*Christliche Welt,* 1903, No. 1), *kein Atom eines Babylonischen Monotheismus* can be traced in the texts to which Delitzsch appeals. Oppert, Bezold, and other leading Assyriologists have pronounced equally categorical judgments. Baentsch has recently made these "monotheistic tendencies" the theme of special investigation (*Altorientalischer u. Israelitischer Monotheismus,* 1906). Outside of Israel, he finds them confined to the devout utterances of prayer, esoteric speculations, and priestly abstractions (*op. cit.* pp. 7 ff.). Only in Israel was monotheism a practical and living faith (pp. 43 ff.)

[2] Cf. Wellhausen, *Reste Ar. Heidenthums,* pp. 13 ff.; Nöldeke, "Arabian Religion" in *Dict. of Religion and Ethics,* col. 613 ff. On the *Götterwelt* of the Semitic peoples in general, cf. Baethgen, *Beiträge zur Sem. Religionsgeschichte,* pp. 9 ff.

[3] The worship of Baal-Peor (Num. xxv. 3 ff.) may be but a local cult of Chemosh; but in עשתר כמש (Moab Stone, l. 17) Chemosh is clearly accompanied by his female consort Ashtar = Astarte. There is less evidence for Ammonite polytheism (the Chemosh of Judg. xi. 24 being an evident slip for Milcom), but for the nearly related Edomites the names of several gods have been identified (cf. Baethgen, *op. cit.* pp. 10 ff.; Nöldeke, art. "Edom," *Ency. Bibl.* col. 1187 f.).

whom He takes counsel, and whom He associates with Himself in His plans and doings. In the strange fragment vi. 1 ff. we have these "sons of God" actually represented as guilty of sexual intercourse with mortal women. These elements, it has been pointed out, belong not to the main stock of Jahvistic tradition, but to the semi-assimilated transmissions from old Babylonian and Canaanite mythical lore. The suggestions of polytheism which we find in these cruder fragments are thus most probably echoes from an alien world of religious faith and life. But, whatever their origin, these godlike beings are in Israelite tradition but pale shadows of the Godhead, without either character, name, or function. They have no place assigned to them in the Divine economy. Jahveh, indeed, consults with them, but He alone moves and acts of His own initiative, and by His own power (iii. 24, xi. 8). As nameless beings, too, they receive no worship from men. They are therefore no integral elements in a living faith, and their presence in these sections of Genesis in no way impairs the conception of Jahveh's sole supremacy. At a later stage of Israel's religious history, these shadowy "sons of God" fill a larger place as "angels" (messengers or agents of God), "seraphim" (heavenly attendants upon God's majesty), etc. They have even names like Michael and Gabriel given them. But God still remains supreme, the King and Lord and Author of all, the sole Object of His people's adoration. Thus, in P (i. 26 ff.), where God invites the friendly interest of His "angels" in His crowning work, it is He alone that makes man "in their image," and gives him his place and charge. "The sons of God" take no direct part in the work.

At the same time, in the narratives that represent the original Israelitic tradition, Jahveh is not necessarily the only God. He is peculiarly the God of Israel, whose sway appears confined to Palestine, the home of Israel. In ix. 26 f., for example, Jahveh is the God of Shem = Israel, but not also of Japheth, the ally and friend of Shem. And in iv. 14 the wilderness lying outside the bounds of Palestine is regarded as also outwith the confines of Jahveh's kingdom (cf. Exeg. Note). This is in harmony with the view of other early portions of the Old Testament. Thus, Jacob learns with amazement that the barren hillside of Luz, so far away from his father's encampment in Beer-sheba, is "none other but the house of God—the very gateway of heaven" (Gen. xxviii. 17). David's banishment means for him being bereft of his portion in "the inheritance of Jahveh," and driven forth to "serve other gods" (1 Sam. xxvi. 19). Naaman needs "two mules' burden of earth" from Palestine, on which to worship the God of Israel on the unclean soil of Syria (2 Kings v. 17). It is only with the prophets that the old indissoluble connection between Jahveh and His "inheritance" is definitely broken, and Jahveh proclaimed as the universal God, who guides the destinies of all nations alike (cf. Amos i., ix. 7, etc.). But already in these early chapters of Genesis we can trace the widening of the bounds of His Kingdom. As new knowledge reaches His people, that too is brought under Jahveh's domain. He is the God that walks and reigns in Eden, "in the East" (ii. 8 ff.). He is likewise the God who subverts the ambitious design of the godless builders of Babylon (xi. 5 ff.). In the Flood story of J^2, He is the Almighty One that rules the storms and waves in the

"land of the rivers" as He does in Canaan (vii. 1 ff.). The unconscious instincts of the best of the people were thus leading them in the same direction as the pointed preachings of the prophets. In the later priestly record (P) the movement has reached its goal. The conception of God's universal Sovereignty prevails throughout. Jahveh is, indeed, the God of Israel, who reveals His name through Moses (Ex. vi.). But He is likewise the Eternal Creator and Ruler of all, the God who made "man" in His image, and embraces all the nations under His sway (cf. ch. x.). To P, the existence of any other God is unthinkable.[1]

2. The uniqueness of the Hebrew tradition appears as well from the place which God assumes in relation to the Universe. The Babylonian cosmogony is *theogonic*. Chaos is the original being. And from the union of the deities of chaos, Apsu and Tiamat, the gods are born in successive generations (cf. *Seven Tables*, i. 9 ff.). The demiurgos Marduk rises to the lordship of the gods only after a fierce battle with Tiamat and the other demons of chaos (*ibid.*, Tab. iv.). We have parallel conceptions in Greek mythology, where the gods and men are born alike of Oceanus, the world-encircling river,[2] or of Chaos, the yawning void which Hesiod makes the original principle of things.[3] In that mythology, too, the "newer gods" rise to power after a life and death contest

[1] Thus from the beginning the faith of Israel is a "practical monotheism" (cf. Baentsch, *op. cit.* pp. 87 f.). The other nations may have their "gods" (cf. Judg. xi. 24; 1 Sam. xxvi. 19, etc.), but for Israel there is no God but Jahveh. In the prophetic and later literature this faith has become "absolute monotheism." Cf. also Davidson, *Theology of the O.T.* pp. 92 f.

[2] Hom., *Iliad*, xiv. 201, 248, 302.

[3] *Theog.* ii. 117 ff.

with the Titanic deities.[1] The conceptions appear also in Phœnician[2] and other religions. In the Hebrew cosmogonies, on the other hand, God stands outside of the world He makes, as a free Personality, self-existent and self-sufficient, who acts and works according to His own sovereign will (ii. 5 ff., i. 1 ff.). In the simpler of the two cosmogonies, Jahveh "makes" all things—the dry and fruitless desert as well as the smiling garden that springs into beauty when the stream rises to water the earth (ii. 4*b* f., 9). Even natural processes are ascribed to His direct working (vv. 5, 8 f.). Man, woman, and the animals are all "formed" by Jahveh (vv. 7, 19, 21 f.). The same conception of the free, almighty character of God appears in the more formal and developed cosmogony of P. It is not, indeed, evident from i. 1 f. that God calls chaos into being. The "creation of the heavens and earth" at all events means not the making of the raw materials "from nothing," but the fashioning of the already existent chaos into shape (cf. pp. 125 f.). But unlike the presentation in the Babylonian myth from which the main features of the evolution process are derived, God stands above chaos, which appears as dead matter, to be shaped and fashioned according to His will. In like manner, throughout the creative process, God is Supreme Ruler, who commands, and it is done. Even when the process appears as a natural evolution of the life inherent in the "impregnated" world material, the ultimate motive is God's sovereign will, expressing itself in the Word of command (cf.,

[1] *Theog.* ii. 629 ff.

[2] Cf. Sanchuniathon's account (Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* iii. 565, §§ 1 ff.).

further, pp. 124 ff.). Here, too, God is the Supreme Maker and Lord of all things. The workings of Nature are but one of the expressions of His will.

The same conception of God's sovereign control over nature and life in all their domains appears throughout these chapters, in early and late narratives alike. Jahveh has made the ground luxuriant (ii. 8 f.); but He also makes it hard and barren (iii. 17 f., iv. 12). He appoints the destinies of the world and man for all time to come (iii. 15 ff., viii. 21 f.). He "causes it to rain upon the earth," and so "brings the flood" (vii. 9). He "makes the wind to pass over the earth," so that "the waters are diminished" (viii. 1). He "scatters men abroad over the face of all the earth" (xi. 8 f.). And He is the director and inspirer of His people's migrations (chs. xii. ff.). In P, too, it is God that determines to make "an end of all flesh" (vi. 13), and with this view "brings the flood upon the earth, to destroy all flesh from under heaven" (vi. 17). At His command "the fountains of the great deep are broken up, and the windows of heaven opened" (vii. 11). And in His own time He stays the flood, and dries the earth (viii. 1). He ordains that "there shall be never more a flood to destroy the earth" (ix. 11). And He controls rain, cloud, and bow with supreme authority (ix. 13 ff.).

3. To be worshipped, a God must have a definite name. The Hebrew God bears the general name of *Elohim* (universally in E and P until the revelation of the "new name" through Moses; in J^2 until the time of Enosh, when men first "began to worship God under the name of Jahveh"; and in J when He is named by the serpent, or mentioned in connection

with a foreign people like Japheth). אֱלֹהִים is, of course, a plural form of the common Semitic title for God,—*ēl*, Assyr. *ilu*, Ar. *ilâh*,[1]—but both the root and form have been the centres of much discussion. The most probable derivation is still that from the root אול = "to be strong,"[2] the plural being a "survival" from the old polydæmonistic stage, when a plurality of "strong ones" were conceived to be embraced within the circle of the "Godhood."[3] But influential scholars have challenged both.[4]

[1] On the extension of this common name for God through the Semitic world, cf. Baethgen, *Beiträge*, pp. 297 ff.

[2] This was the official explanation of the Synagogue, and the current one among the Church Fathers (Baethgen, *op. cit.* p. 272). It stands most in harmony with the other designations for God in Hebrew and cognate languages: מֶלֶךְ, king, בַּעַל and אָדוֹן, lord, Ar. رَبّ, lord, etc. It affords the best basis, too, for the development of the conception of "almighty Power," an essential attribute of God in the highest religions. Nöldeke derives the word from √אול as = "to be first" (cf. Ar. أول, "first"), interpreting אֵל as "leader." This sense is much the same as the current one, and corresponds equally with the general Semitic conception of the Godhead. Against both derivations Lagarde argues, with considerable point, that a partic. from אול would be unchangeable, whereas אֵל becomes in plur. אֱלֹהִים. His own explanation, however,—from prepos. אֶל, God being regarded as "the end of all human aspiration and striving" (cf. Fried. Delitzsch, *Babel u. Bibel*, pp. 45 f.),—is still more open to objection, the derivation being not merely too indirect, but the notion likewise too metaphysical for primitive minds. What we must look for under the name is some quality descriptive of the character of God in direct relation to His worshippers. Dillmann also arrives at the notion of "strength" or "might"—but from the doubtful root אלה (*Genesis*, p. 18). Unless we acquiesce in simple ignorance (Smend, Stade), the traditional explanation seems thus to bring us nearest to the original conception.

[3] W. Robertson Smith, *Rel. Sem.* pp. 445 f. Cf. Marti, *Gesch. der Isr. Religion*, p. 26.

[4] Davidson (*Dict. Bible*, ii. 199) and Kautzsch (*Ency. Bib.* col. 3324) explain as plural of eminence, rank, or majesty, comparing אֲדֹנִים, בְּעָלִים, and *ilâni*, "God," used in addressing the Egyptian king in the Amarna letters. This, however, is but explanation by analogy. These forms also require to be explained.

The special name of Israel's God, however, was *Jahveh*, the name used by J from the beginning of history, by J^2 from the time of Enosh (iv. 26), and by E and P after the revelation through Moses (Ex. iii. 14 ff., vi. 2 ff.), the different writers evidently regarding the name as known for the first time at these several epochs.

It hardly belongs to this inquiry to discuss the origin of the name Jahveh, though a well-established conclusion on the question would help us better to understand the course of the religion of Israel. Of late, a few Assyriologists have sought to trace back this most sacred possession of Israel, like so much else, to Babylonia,[1] as earlier scholars looked to Egypt. But from our study of Babylonian influence over Israel (in Chapter III.), we should judge the derivation of the Divine name from such a source altogether impossible. From Babylonia the people of Israel did derive certain externals of religion, cosmogonic myths, popular legends, and the like. But these things never touched the heart of the faith. Under its influence, instead, they were recast and transformed, and brought into harmony with the spirit of the purer religion. It seems, therefore, an entirely misguided attempt to trace the name of Israel's God to an alien source like Babylonia.

There is much more probability in the view of Stade, Budde, and several subsequent scholars,[2] that

[1] Cf. Fried. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 158 ff. ; Hommel, *Anc. Heb. Trad.* pp. 115 f., 225 f.

[2] Cf. Stade, *ZATW*, 1894, pp. 307 f., *Bibl. Theol. des ATs.* pp. 42 f. ; Budde, *Die Religion des Volkes Israel*, pp. 13 ff. ; Guthe, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, pp. 28 f. ; Barton, *A Sketch of Semitic Origins*, pp. 275 ff.

Jahveh was originally the God of the Kenites, to which tribe Moses' father-in-law belonged (cf. the old Jahvistic chapter, Judg. i. 16), and from which Moses carried the name over to his own people. According to the two later writers E and P, the name Jahveh was unknown to Israel until His appearance to Moses. The scene of this revelation was Horeb (Ex. iii. 1), E's equivalent for the Sinai of J and P. Here Jahveh is conceived to have His peculiar dwelling-place until quite a late period (cf. Judg. v. 4 ff.; 1 Kings xix.; Deut. xxxiii. 2; Hab. iii. 3). The natural inference is that the mountain was a primitive centre of Jahveh-worship. The authors of that worship would then be the tribe or tribes that lived in the neighbourhood, namely the Kenites (cf. Ex. iii. 1, where the pasture-lands of Moses' father-in-law clearly border on Horeb). The formal initiation of Moses, Aaron, and the elders of Israel into the new cult is found in the sacrificial covenant described in Ex. xviii. 12. In further support of the theory, it is pointed out that the Kenites continued for centuries the most zealous champions of Jahveh's cause. As instances are adduced the conduct of Jael in the war of independence (Judg. iv. 17 ff., v. 24 ff.), the zeal for Jahveh of Jonadab the son of Rechab (2 Kings x. 15), and the resolute adherence to old habits of life of the Rechabites of Jeremiah's time (Jer. xxxv.).[1]

These arguments, however, are not so conclusive as they seem. The connection of Jahveh with Horeb or Sinai (Judg. v. 4 ff., etc.) is not necessarily to be explained from a more primitive Jahveh-cult on the

[1] In the above paragraph, we have simply condensed the arguments of Budde, *loc. cit.*

sacred mount. The peculiar personal relations into which Jahveh entered with Moses and His people[1] at that "holy place" are sufficient to account for the association. Nor is the sacrificial feast described in Ex. xviii. 12 necessarily the rite of initiation of Moses and His people into the new Jahveh-cult. The feast was, no doubt, religious as well as social and "brotherly." The eating together of the Israelites and Kenites "before God" implied at least a recognition of each other's God. But there is no indication that the Kenites were the original worshippers of Jahveh. From the context of Ex. xviii., it seems to us, indeed, that Jethro now for the first time recognised the might of Israel's God (cf. vv. 9 ff.). If the chapter really describes the initiation of new members into the cult of Jahveh, the Kenites seem rather to play that rôle. And this is much more in accordance with the historical situation. The people of Israel under Moses were buoyed up by a great religious enthusiasm, which carried them out of Egypt to seek a new home for themselves and their worship. But a foreign God, imported from however friendly neighbours, could never have inspired that enthusiasm. According to the earliest and throughout the most natural and trustworthy narrator (J), it was the good tidings that Jahveh, "the God of their fathers," had "revealed Himself" to Moses (Ex. iii. 16 f.) that moved the people. And something of their enthusiasm infected the Kenites too. In our judgment, it was not Israel that joined them and their God, but rather they that joined Israel

[1] On the epoch-making religious events that took place at Sinai, cf. Giesebrecht, *Die Geschichtlichkeit des Sinaibundes*.

and Jahveh. Nor were they, in historical times, really the most zealous champions of the Jahveh religion. The action of Jael is but an isolated incident, which any other zealous patriot might have done. And the loyalty of the Rechabites was due more to old nomadic ways in general, than to the faith of Jahveh in particular (cf. Jer. xxxv. 6 ff.).

The supposed occurrence of *Jahveh* or *Jahu* as an element in proper names of the Ḥammurabi age in Babylonia, as well as among the Canaanites, has led a number of scholars to the conclusion that the God of Israel was originally a West Semitic Deity *Jahu* or *Yau*, whose worship was common to Israel with other nations. But the reading and interpretation of the names are alike too uncertain to base confident judgments on.[1] Even were they authentic Jahveh-names, they would only prove that the name Jahveh was known before the days of Moses—not that He was the God of any people but Israel, or the "fathers" of Israel. As we have noted, this is the universal assumption of the most authoritative Hebrew document (J).[2] And it

[1] The names are read by Delitzsch *Ja-ah-ve-ilu* and *Ja-hu-um-ilu*, and interpreted "Jahveh is God" (*Babel u. Bibel*, pp. 46 ff.). Much the same interpretation is given by Sayce, Hommel, and Clay (*Light on the O. T. from Babel*, pp. 235 f.). But both reading and interpretation have been discredited by leading Assyriologists like Zimmern, *KAT*[3], p. 468; Jensen, *Chr. Welt.*, 1902, col. 491 f.; Halévy, *Revue Sémitique*, 1902, pp. 186 f.; and Daiches, Bezold, and Oppert, *ZA*, xvi. 403 f., 415 f., xvii. 271 ff., 291 ff.

[2] The only old Hebrew name which contains *Jahveh* as an element is יוֹכֶבֶד, the name of Moses' mother. The name occurs only in two P passages (Ex. vi. 20 and Num. xxvi. 59), but may, like other names incorporated in P, rest on good tradition. If so, this would be valid evidence for the pre-Mosaic worship of Jahveh. Only the argument cannot be pressed. On the other hand, the passage which refers to the fathers of Israel "serving other gods" (Josh. xxiv. 2 ff.), belongs to a late Elohistic source.

seems most in accordance with the historical probabilities. The proclamation of a new God—for a new name meant for ancient peoples a new God—would not have rallied the tribes of Israel around His standard. It was the declaration of Moses that the "God of their fathers"—their faith in whom had sunk low through the influence of their heathen surroundings and the sensual attractions of the "flesh-pots of Egypt"—had again appeared to them that roused them from their servile lethargy. Moreover, the nations most nearly allied to Israel, Moab, Ammon, and Edom, brought their several worships, and the names of their gods, with them from their ancestral home in Arabia. Their origins alike lie wrapped in the mists of hoary antiquity. The uncertainty that hangs over the original form and meaning of the name Jahveh (cf. *infra*) supports this argument from analogy, and goes to show that the beginnings of Jahveh worship must likewise be sought in the earliest history of the people.[1]

It would be more to our purpose if we could arrive at the exact significance of the name Jahveh. To the Hebrews, as to other primitive peoples, the name was no mere appendage, but a real expression of the essential character of the person or object named (cf. Exeg. Note on ii. 19 f.). If we could be sure, then, of the etymological significance of the name Jahveh, we should be helped towards the conception which it called up to the minds of the worshippers. Unfortunately, this

[1] Several Old Testament scholars regard Jahveh as originally the God of a section of the people of Israel—either the Rachel tribes (Well.) or those of Leah (Nowack), or at least of Moses' tribe Levi (Davidson). If Israel was really an amalgam of Jahvistic and non-Jahvistic tribes, then Jahveh must have been the God of the main stock, whose influence dominated the rest. But on this matter we cannot reach beyond conjecture.

is quite doubtful. According to Ex. iii. 14, 16 (E), יהוה is an (archaic) imperf. of the verb הָיָה, and therefore = "He will be, or become," the God of Israel being thus conceived as the "self-existing," or rather "self-manifesting," One. These popular etymologies, however, lack scientific authority. Apart from the difficulty involved in the form יַהְוֶה as imperf. of the stem הָיָה, such a notion as "self-existence" or "self-manifestation" is too reflective an explanation. Metaphysical abstractions are alien to primitive peoples. The Hiphil form, which some scholars have suggested—יַהְוֶה = "He will cause to be, or to become," *i.e.* "He will bring into existence"—involves us in the same difficulty. The essential thing in national religions is the relation that subsists between the God and His people. And this personal relation should be expressed in the name. The real notion we should thus expect to find underlying the name Jahveh would be that of "King" or "Ruler" or "Champion" of His people, rather than that of Creator, which is a secondary idea. As far, however, as our present knowledge extends, the form Jahveh suggests no such notion. Perhaps the original root has disappeared, or even been deliberately obscured through the same feeling of reverential awe that led to the concealment, or avoidance, of the name Jahveh itself. The many conjectures that have been offered seem to bring us no nearer to the original stem. We are compelled, therefore, to look away from the name to the actual conceptions which the people formed of their God.

4. In the higher ethnic religions, the supreme Powers are conceived and represented anthropomorphically. The conception of disembodied Spirit is quite beyond the

mental horizon of early peoples. However lofty their conceptions of God, they can think of Him only as arrayed in fitting form. And as they know of no form nobler than man's own, they naturally conceive of God as "like men"—only more exalted in form and character. The Hebrew Scriptures are no exception to this rule. God is frankly represented as in human form, moving and working in human wise. The anthropomorphic principle finds its most precise expression in the latest of our sources, who represents God as making man "after His own image" (i. 26 ff.). This implies that man is the human "copy" or "likeness" of God (cf. p. 144 f.). Therefore, the original "type," God Himself, must be like the "copy." This is the current conception of God in the "theophanies" of the Old Testament, for example. Man cannot look on God's face for the "glory" that surrounds Him. But in actual appearance, He is "like man." And when He lays aside His glory to appear to men, He shows Himself in this form (cf. Ex. xxxiii. 19 ff.; Ezek. i. 26 f.; Dan. vii. 9 ff.)

In harmony with this conception, the language of human activity and even of human feeling is applied to God throughout our chapters. Like a master-potter, He takes earth (clay), and "moulds" it into a man (ii. 7). He takes one of the man's ribs, and "builds it up" into a woman (ii. 21). He plants a garden for man to till (ii. 8). He comes down to "walk" and converse with him there (iii. 8). He addresses him *viva voce* (iii. 9 ff.). He "makes" the man and his wife skins of hide (iii. 21). He "drives" them from the garden, and "stations" cherubim to ward them off (iii. 23 f.). He counsels Cain (iv. 6 ff.), convicts him of his guilt

(vv. 9 ff.), "drives" him from the cultivated soil (ver. 14), yet "sets a mark" upon him to save him from death (ver. 15). He "goes down to see" the works of men (xi. 5), confounds their language, and scatters them abroad (vv. 7 ff.). J^2 is as frankly anthropomorphic. In his story of the Flood, Jahveh instructs Noah (vii. 1 ff.), "shuts the door of the ark behind him" (vii. 16), and "smells the sweet savour" of the sacrifice (viii. 21). Here, too, we find the strongest anthropopathisms: Jahveh "saw" the wickedness of man, was "grieved to the heart," and "repented" that He had made him (vi. 5 ff.). P has a much more exalted idea of God than either of the earlier writers. He thinks of Him as elevated far above man and his petty world. And he rigidly excludes all references to God's "change of mind," "jealousy," and suchlike conceptions. Yet even he cannot think of God apart from anthropomorphisms. God "makes" and "fashions" (ch. i. *passim*)—though in more immediate and sovereign fashion than in J. On the seventh day He "rests" from His work (ii. 2). He "sees" the depravity of man, instructs Noah, "brings" the Flood, "remembers" Noah and his company, "makes a wind to pass over the earth" to diminish the waters, instructs Noah to go forth, "establishes His covenant with him," and "blesses him" (vi.–ix.).

The anthropomorphic conception, of course, places certain limits on the Divine nature and power. Thus J does not think of Jahveh as all-present, knowing, and powerful. He has to come down in Person to see what is going on in the earth (xi. 6; cf. xviii. 21). He does not know the sin of the first parents by His own omniscience. He first suspects it from their shrinking

dread of Him, and then exposes the truth by sharp cross-examination (iii. 10 ff.). He has to place cherubim in guard to prevent man from disobeying His command and eating of the tree (iii. 24). In the same judicial way He convicts Cain of his sin (iv. 9 ff.). In like manner, in J^2, Jahveh's purposes are not regarded as eternal and irrevocable. They are changeable according to Jahveh's "changed mind" (vi. 6), which is influenced chiefly by man's conduct (vi. 5 ff.; cf. viii. 20 ff.). Even in P, where such limitations are as far as possible avoided (cf. his conception of creation as the direct result of God's Sovereign *fiat*, i. 3 ff.; his representation of God "seeing" —from heaven, "resolving with Himself" what He will do, and forthwith "doing" it, vi. 11 ff.; "speaking" to Noah—but from His own elevated region, vi. 13 ff.; and "establishing" a covenant with him—but all on His side, vi. 18, ix. 9 ff.), God's purposes are conditioned by man's actions (vi. 11 ff.).

In spite of these limitations, however, anthropomorphism is the very life of ancient religions. A God robbed of all anthropomorphic features, and spiritualised into pure passionless Being, would be "hollow, empty, and poor,"[1] an abstraction that primitive minds could not approach with joyful confidence. It is indeed the anthropomorphic conception that gives the bare idea of God its "fulness of content,"[2] and makes both religion and revelation possible. To be known and worshipped, God must be in certain essential personal respects "like man." Thus we find the character of God much "fuller of content," and the religious life likewise freer and richer,

[1] Hegel, *Philosophy of Religion*, p. 21 (Eng. tr. i. 30).
[2] *Ibid.* Cf. Davidson, *Theology of the O. T.* pp. 108 f.

in the more anthropomorphic narratives. In P, with his exalted conceptions of God's transcendent majesty, knowledge, wisdom, and power, the Divine Being is yet too "high and lifted up," too abstract, to be loved and worshipped with gladness of heart. Men rather "walk before Him" (Gen. xvi. 1) with reverent awe. On the other hand, in the Jahvistic narratives, the character of God is charged with full, vivid personality, and the religious life appears as a free, glad walk with Him (Gen. iii. 8 ff.).[1]

5. It is not, therefore, in the general anthropomorphic conception that we must look for the distinctive features of different religions, but in the actual ethical character with which they invested their God or gods. In this respect also the religion of Israel stands unique. The comparisons we have instituted between the myths and legends of Babylonia and the corresponding traditions in Israel show how widely separated the religious thoughts of these two peoples were. The gods of Babylonia were simply gigantic men, moved by savage passions, warring against each other, and striving often by the pettiest tricks to upset each other's plans (cf. pp. 44 ff.). The heavenly palace of Olympus was no less truly the ideal reflection of the Greek world. The gods of Olympus were types of Greek life and character, embodying the passions and infirmities, as well as the grace and dignity, that marked the Greek "gentleman." Thus the Greek mythology represents the gods as affected by strong passions of hatred, strife, and enmity, continually quarrelling with one another, easily tolerant

[1] Cf. Chapter VII. pp. 150 f. Whatever the original character of Jahveh, therefore, He is to His worshippers in Israel no longer a nature God, but a living Personality.

of sin, and themselves guilty of shameful intrigues. Even in the artistic masterpieces, which reveal the character of the gods from the ideal sphere, there is little ethical dignity. For example, Phidias' statue of Zeus Olympios, which "was regarded as the masterpiece of Greek religious sculpture, and the fullest and deepest expression in plastic form of the national worship," represents "the ideal of reposeful supremacy, peaceful majesty, and dignified benevolence,"[1] but is not conspicuous for moral force and strength. Wherever polytheism is found, the same results inevitably follow, human weaknesses and failings being ascribed to the gods, and filling the courts of heaven with "scandals." On the other hand, the character of Jahveh, the God of Israel, is essentially ethical. This appears throughout the chapters at present under review, not only in the more developed Priestly writer, to whom we owe the classical expression of ethical religion,—"I am El Shaddai; walk before Me, and be thou perfect" (Gen. xvii. 1),—but in the more primitive narrative of J as well. Thus, the end of the Creation story in Gen. ii. iii. is the moral discipline of man. Jahveh is concerned for the general well-being of His creatures, and thus seeks to make all things pleasant and comfortable for them (ii. 8 ff.); but His supreme interest is in their moral welfare. He desires above all else to train and perfect their moral character, to teach them to "abhor evil, and cleave to that which is good" (cf. Chapter VII. pp. 151 ff.). Therefore He visits disobedience with the gravest punishment (ii. 17, iii. 14 f.). The inflexibly ethical character of Jahveh is as strongly marked in the story of Cain and

[1] Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, pp. 123 ff.

Abel, where He appears as the Champion of the innocent, the Avenger of their blood, the God "who will by no means clear the guilty" (iv. 9 ff.). In vi. 3, too, the old Canaanite heroic myth of the descent of the Nephilim from marriage alliances between heavenly beings and mortal women—originally told without moral reflection—has received at the hand of the Jahvist a strong ethical colouring. Such presumptuous and unnatural unions demand the extreme penalty (vi. 3). The story of the Flood is cast in the same gravely ethical mould. That terrible catastrophe, which in the Babylonian version is the result of an uncontrollable outburst of wrath on Bel's part (cf. p. 44), is, according to the representations of J^2 (vi. 5 f.) and P (vi. 11 f.), alike brought on by the desperate and irremediable corruption of the whole earth, Noah alone "finding favour with God" for his virtuous life (vi. 8 f.).

It is true, there appear in certain passages of J (iii. 22, 24, xi. 6 ff.) suggestions of a non-moral "jealousy" on Jahveh's part, parallel to heathen conceptions of the Divine character (cf. Exeg. Notes), rather than consonant elements in an ethical faith. But, as has been shown, both these passages belong not to the pure Israelite tradition, but to crude alien infiltrations, only partially assimilated to the Hebrew spirit.

Thus, wherever the true character of Israel's religion comes to light, its ethical character is manifest. Jahveh Himself is the righteous God of Israel. And He seeks first righteousness—moral goodness (cf. Exeg. Note on צַדִּיק, vii. 1)—in His people.[1]

[1] In the same way Baentsch emphasises the ethical distinction of the religion of Israel: in other faiths the gods have ethical *traits*, the God of Israel alone is an ethical *personality* (*op. cit.* pp. 85 ff.).

It has become almost an axiom with many Old Testament scholars that "ethical monotheism" is first taught in the writings of the prophets. In the strict sense, this may be true. For "monotheism" as the belief in "one universal God" is only developed when Israel enters the full stream of universal history, and the God of Israel triumphs over the gods of the conquerors. But the germs of "ethical monotheism" are already found in the Jahveh religion as proclaimed by Moses, and handed down in its purity among the "thousands in Israel that have not bowed the knee to Baal" (c.. pp. 95 f.). Jahveh is not yet the God of all the nations, but He is the only God for them. And we have seen how, through the simple process of widening knowledge, the sway of Jahveh is gradually extended to embrace distant nations (pp. 101 f.). This faith in Jahveh —"henotheism" or "monolatry," as it may be called— is from the beginning distinctively ethical. The Jahveh of Israel is, in a quite peculiar sense, an ethical God, who loves and demands goodness, and hates and punishes evil.[1] There is thus no real breach between the prophets' exalted conceptions of God, and the earlier faith in Jahveh in the pious circles in the land. The prophets were no isolated phenomena. They taught no new faith. They but brought into clear light and emphasis the truths involved in the old faith.[2] Even

[1] It is no real argument against the ethical character of Jahveh that the early Hebrew morality was marked by much crudity and even barbarism. It needed long years of moral experience and education for the loftier conceptions to penetrate into the people's mind and conscience. Even after nineteen centuries the practice of Christian nations is far below the Christian ideal.

[2] "*Die Propheten wollen nichts Neues verkündigen, sie kennen keine andere Wahrheit als die ihnen innerhalb ihres Volkes überlieferte, das*

in denouncing the perversions of the people, they recalled them to the "old paths." Their burning "words" are thus vitally bound together with the great proclamation of Jahveh through the lips of Moses. And the traditions in Genesis help us to trace the connection.

It has often been shown how the prophets, by the emphasis they laid on the ethical character of Israel's religion, saved the religion even while the people sank into ruin. The prophets were indeed the instruments of this salvation. But the religion of Jahveh—by virtue of its ethical character—was instinct with the power of immortal life from the beginning. And this inherent quality is not to be explained from the events of history alone, nor yet from the external form of the union that bound Israel with Jahveh,[1] but from the essential character of Jahveh Himself. The God of Israel was a true ethical personality, a righteous God, who ruled His people in righteousness. The worship of such a God had power in itself to triumph over all the shocks and strains of outward circumstance.

6. It is often maintained that this ethical element is *the* essential characteristic of Old Testament religion. Thus Hegel defines the religion of Israel as that of Sublimity, not of Beauty;[2] Caird describes it by the above-used phrase, "the religion of ethical monotheism";[3]

Produkt göttlicher Leitung und Weisung desselben" (Well., *Gesch. Isr.* p. 108).

[1] Thus Budde finds the ethical character of Jahvism in its being not a *Natur-religion*, but a *Wahl-religion*—that is, a religion accepted (from the Kenites) by a formal resolution of will (cf. *Relig. des Volk Isr.* p. 31). But this only touches the outer shell. A true explanation must be sought in the kernel of the faith.

[2] *Phil. der Religion*, ii. pp. 39 ff.

[3] *Evolution of Religion*, i. pp. 383 ff.

while Tiele classes it with other Semitic faiths among the "theocratic," as distinguished from the "theanthropic," religions.[1] The presupposition of all these views is that the Old Testament religion is an austere faith, lacking the near and gracious relation to the Powers above, that lends such charm to many aspects of Greek religion. The tendency of the later legal Judaism is, no doubt, to magnify the exalted, transcendent side of the Divine character. But, shining through this severity, the Old Testament, as well as the New, shows the grace and mercy of God. This aspect of the Divine character appears most prominently in the prophets of love—Hosea, Jeremiah, and Deutero-Isaiah. It is also the watchword of the humane code of Deuteronomy. And the Psalms are full of it. But it appears clearly manifest in the earlier literature as well. Thus, in the striking passages 1 Sam. xx. 14 and 2 Sam. ix. 3—both from the earliest acknowledged piece of Hebrew historical literature—"the mercy (kindness) of God" is the motive, even the essential quality, of the "covenant of kindness" between David and Jonathan, and of David's actual proof of kindness to Mephibosheth. To the pious circles to which David belonged, therefore, Jahveh was "mercy" as well as "righteousness," and that mercy was as much the motive that inspired human kindness as His righteousness was the root principle of human righteousness.

The same idea is present in Gen. i.–xi. The ethical idea, no doubt, is the more apparent. But the more austere conception of Jahveh's character is softened and even transfigured by the thought of His nearness and grace. The ideal relation between Jahveh and man

[1] *Elements of the Science of Religion*, i. 155 f.

is represented in the idyllic picture of Paradise (iii. 8) as a life of unbroken harmony, God and man walking together as Friend with friend. Even when sin enters to disturb the friendly fellowship, it does not shut man out from the loving mercy of Jahveh. He is full of tender pity for the creatures He has made. He must for their transgression withdraw His gift of life. But He will not execute the sentence just yet. He will allow them to enjoy the goodness of life for a few more years. He drives them forth from the garden of innocence. But to protect them from the cold, rough blasts of the friendless world, and to cover their shame more effectually than they could by their pitiful handfuls of fig-leaves, He clothes them with hides. It is nowhere explicitly asserted, yet it seems to be implied from the story of man's advance in civilisation, that the hard, painful toil to which Jahveh condemns man is an essential part of his moral discipline. In all this there is no formal expression of forgiveness; but the religious blessing which gives forgiveness its value is already present. While He punishes His creatures, and in so doing brings to an end the former unclouded, unreserved relations of friendship, Jahveh yet "befriends" His creatures, and seeks their good (cf., further, Chapter VII. p. 165). The same sense of Jahveh's tender mercy shines through the darkness that envelopes the tragic crime of Cain. Jahveh inflicts on Cain the punishment of the murderer, driving him forth to the barren desert, where he is exposed to the unfettered workings of the law of blood revenge. But again He takes pity on his helpless, forlorn state, and stands forth as his Champion (*Goel*), who will avenge his death sevenfold. In the Flood

story, too, the clouds of judgment are shot through with the light of mercy. Jahveh has once wiped out all flesh for their sins; but He will no more curse the ground for man's sake, nor destroy every living thing as He has done (viii. 21). Even in P, where the transcendent holiness and majesty of God are magnified, there are found traces of this closer and more gracious relationship. Twice (v. 22 ff., vi. 9) we read of pious men that they "walked with God." We cannot, indeed, attribute to a priestly mind like P the simple, naïve conception these words convey in J (iii. 8). It was undoubtedly a spiritual relation he sought to describe. But the language implies the closest possible intimacy with God. Towards these men, at least, God showed tender kindness. Enoch He took to Himself (v. 24), and Noah He saved from the common destruction (vi. 13 ff.). In P, too, God vows no more to destroy all flesh (ix. 15). And His gracious "remembrance" is extended to the cattle and beasts as well (viii. 1, ix. 10 ff.).

Thus, in both the earliest and the latest documents of Genesis, we have all the elements of eternal religion present, explicit or implied. Jahveh is the holy God, exalted far above men. But He is also the present God, near to His creatures. He is the righteous God, who seeks righteousness, and punishes iniquity. But He is also the gracious God, who cares for the sinful, and seeks to do them good. The "law and the prophets" are but the full explication of these ideas. And Jesus came "not to destroy, but to fulfil" the same.

CHAPTER VI.

The Cosmogonies.

Among all nations, cosmogonic myths occupy a large place. The sight of the "starry heavens above" and the wonders of earth and sea below affects the primitive mind with the same "awe" which the modern philosopher felt, and moves him to ask:

> "Who knows the secret, who can proclaim it,
> Whence rose, whence came, this manifold creation?"
> (*Rig-Veda*, x. 129.)

In answering such questions, the primitive thinker follows the same general principles as the modern man of science. He also starts from Nature as he sees her, observes the forces at work, carries their operation back into the distant past, and thus construes the order of creation. In this way, early cosmogonic myths reflect the "world" of the peoples that created them. They are equally the mirrors of their religious ideas. For primitive cosmogonies are never mere "scientific" creations. The thought of early peoples is tinged with religious feeling. They trace the presence of Divine Powers throughout Nature. Thus they conceive the whole process of creation as the work of God or gods.

In Genesis, we have two typical cosmogonic myths.

1. The earliest, and most simple and naïve, of these is found in Gen. ii. (J). According to this presentation of the creative process, the earth as "made" by Jahveh lies waste and barren, no rain having yet fallen to water the ground, nor man appeared to till the soil and make it fruitful (ver. 5). But a stream rises from the earth, and "waters the whole face of the ground" (ver. 6). And a smiling garden appears, clothed with fresh vegetation, the home of man and beasts (vv. 7 ff.).

We have already traced this picture of creation to the original traditions of the Kenites, who joined the confederacy of Israel after the Exodus from Egypt. And it bears the marks of its origin on every feature. The dead waste of ver. 5 is the desert the Arabian nomad knows so well, with its utter absence of life and vegetation.[1] The fruitful ground of vv. 7 ff. is the oasis which springs into beauty around the margin of the flowing stream, the home of life and order, and the centre of civilisation.[2] The cosmogony is thus a natural interpretation of the world the Bedouin tribesman knew, and therefore as "scientific" (within its limits) as the grander philosophies of the modern thinker.

At the same time, the whole picture is suffused with religious feeling and imagination. The desert earth is no chance appearance, or self-existent chaos; it is of Jahveh's "making" (ver. 4*b*). Neither the rain nor the streams are of Nature alone. While "the stream rose from the earth" (ver. 6), Jahveh yet "caused it to rain" (ver. 5). And doubtless the author of the tradition

[1] On the desolation of the desert, cf. Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, i. 7, 56, 244, etc.

[2] Cf. Doughty, *op. cit.* i. 151 ff., 285 ff., 234 ff., etc.

believed that He was likewise the First Cause of the flowing of the stream. Not even the vegetation is conceived as a mere natural growth. It is again Jahveh that "makes the trees to grow from the ground" (ver. 9). And from the same source both man and the lower animals are "formed" (vv. 7, 19).

Thus, in the earliest and most primitive of Old Testament cosmogonies, we have the two fundamental principles of scientific and religious thought already clearly recognised: (1) all is natural, progressive, and orderly; and (2) all is of God, Who works in all and through all.

2. The cosmogony of Gen. i. (P) is much more elaborate and developed. Yet it follows the same lines as its simpler precursor.

In this account of creation, we start with a chaotic intermingling of the elements of earth and sea. The former exists as a waste and empty mass, engulfed in the primordial watery abyss Tehom, all shrouded in darkness (ver. 2). The account, it should be noted, says nothing of the origin of this chaos. It is simply the precondition, and the raw material, of the "creative" process (cf. Exeg. Notes). But from the outset, it is distinctly implied, the chaotic mass is under the absolute power and control of the Sovereign God, who moulds and "fashions" the "whole lump" according to His own purpose and will (cf. pp. 103 f.). The creative process is attributed to two distinct manifestations of the Divine Energy. In ver. 2 the "Spirit of God" (His life-giving Power) is conceived as "brooding over the face of the abyss," impregnating the once dead mass with the germs of life and movement. In vv. 3 ff. Creation is ascribed

to the commanding "word" of God, Who speaks, and it is done. These two different conceptions have been regarded as opposed and contradictory (cf. Gunkel, *Hand-K.* pp. 95 f.). They are, no doubt, distinct in origin and significance. The conception of the "brooding" Spirit naturally suggests an evolution of Cosmos from the fertilised material of chaos, as in the Egyptian, Indian, and other cosmogonies, where the notion of the "world-egg" is developed (cf. p. 50, n. 1). On the other hand, the conception of the commanding "Word" suggests a calling forth of the various elements of the Universe, with their "hosts," by the *fiat* of Sovereign Power. Yet we can hardly regard the author as himself conscious of any insoluble contradiction between the two conceptions. A similar instance of distinction of ideas runs throughout the chapter. Thus, the creative formula invariably reads: "And God said, 'Let there be . . .' And it was so." This would naturally imply that, at the word of command, the elements and living creatures forthwith sprang into being. This we do find in vv. 3, 10 (expanded reading), and 12. But in other verses (7, 16, etc.) God is represented as Himself doing the works. Even in certain instances where the elements are commanded to bring forth their living creatures, God is said to "create" them (vv. 21 and 25). Yet the writer was conscious of no contradiction in these contrasted representations. To him, as to the more naïve author of the tradition in ii. 5 ff., God and Nature are inter-related. Nature is God's. Even when she works and brings forth, God is the real Agent. Whether the evolution of the Cosmos, then, be represented as a natural process, or as God's direct action, it is throughout

the result of God's Word, which is the expression of His will. This conception of the inter-relation of God and Nature seems also to provide the "higher unity" which reconciles the apparent contradictions in vv. 2 ff. In the view of the writer, Nature is no dead mass. Through the brooding of the Spirit of God she becomes impregnated with the germs of life. And when at length the Divine *fiat* goes forth, she responds to God's Word, and gives forth the life with which she is pregnant.

The creative process follows naturally, step by step. First light is called forth (ver. 3). With light, the alternation of day and night comes into play (ver. 5), and the further steps in creation are made possible. Next morning God "makes" the "firmament," a rigid, stable expanse which serves as the pavement of heaven and the "dome" of earth, and divides the primordial waters into two—one mass above the firmament, the other still mingled with the earth (ver. 7). Having thus "established" the heavens, the Creator proceeds next day to bring order into the confused disorder of the earth, by drawing together the watery element into fixed basins and channels (sea, lakes, rivers, fountains, etc.), and thus causing the solid earth, which has hitherto lain engulfed in water, to emerge from its envelope, and assume form and order (ver. 10). The same day, at God's command, the earth becomes clothed with vegetation, herbs, and trees (ver. 12). Next, the heavenly bodies are made, and "placed in the firmament of heaven," to give light on the earth, and to "rule" day and night respectively (vv. 16 ff.). On the fifth day, the waters and the air are filled with fish and birds (vv. 21 ff.)

On the sixth, God "makes" the living creatures of the earth, culminating in man, who is "created" by God, after consultation with the "angels," in the "image" common to Him and them (vv. 24 ff.).

It is not explicitly stated in every instance how God "created" these varied orders of being, whether *ex nihilo* or from already existent materials. In the case of light (ver. 3), the firmament (vv. 6 f.), the heavenly bodies (vv. 16 ff.), and man (ver. 27), the language of itself might seem to imply the former. But analogy and Hebrew usage lead us to the opposite conclusion. The general structure of the chapter sets forth the "creative" process as a methodical disentangling and shaping of the elements confusedly wrapped up in the chaotic mass into a well-ordered whole. In the case of several of the separate acts of "creation," the material of which they are created is explicitly mentioned, *e.g.* the herbs from the earth (vv. 11 f.), the fish from the waters (vv. 20 f.), and the beasts from the earth (vv. 24 f.). Nor does the word בָּרָא imply *creatio ex nihilo*. Its actual significance is to "make" or "fashion" (see Exeg. Note on i. 1). In our chapter the word is applied to the sea-monsters, etc., who are actually represented as produced from the waters (ver. 20). We should thus, probably, carry the idea throughout the chapter, and explain the "Creation" as the progressive ordering of chaos into Cosmos, each step resting on the last, and likewise providing the material for further advance—the whole process ordered and directed by the Almighty Power of God. From this point of view, light is summoned from primæval darkness, as it is called forth each morning from its lair in the nightly darkness

(cf. Job xxxviii. 12 ff.).[1] The firmament is made from part of the solid substance of chaos (cf. *Seven Tables of Creation*, iv. 138). The heavenly bodies are made of light-substance concentrated and bounded. The birds are "created" from air, as the vegetation is brought forth from the ground, and the fishes from the water. And probably man, too, though "created in God's image," is made of earth material, like the lower animals (vv. 24 f.), as he is actually represented in the parallel narrative of J (ii. 7).

The view of the universe underlying ch. i. is that which we find in several late passages of Scripture. The standpoint is geocentric. The earth is regarded as the heart and centre of the universe. It is conceived as a rounded disk, with irregular surface, broken into mountains and plains, seas and rivers. All round and under the earth, with channels and springs communicating with its waters, lies the abyss (Tehom), the source of all the seas, lakes, rivers and fountains of the earth. This lower part of the universe rests on nothing (Job xxvi. 7). Over the earth, like a curtain (Isa. xl. 22, xlv. 12; Ps. civ. 2), extends the vaulted "dome" of heaven, a solid blue pavement as of "sapphire stone" (Ex. xxiv. 10; Ezek. i. 26, x. 1), resting on the mountains as pillars (Job xxvi. 11), and not far off from the earth below (cf. i. 20, with Exeg. Note). To the underside of the firmament are attached the sun, moon and stars, with their several courses prescribed

[1] According to Cheyne, "surely the writer presupposes that the light of day comes ultimately from the light which surrounds Yahweh" (*Traditions and Beliefs*, p. 11). But as the other elements are evolved from primæval chaos, it seems more natural to assume that the light was called forth from the darkness of chaos (ver. 1).

(cf. Ps. xix. 5). Above the firmament lie the "upper waters" (i. 7; Ps. cxlviii. 4), which descend as rain—and once as the deluge (vii. 11)—through the "windows of heaven" (cf. 2 Kings vii. 2; Mal. iii. 10; Ps. lxxviii. 23 f.).

But this view is not peculiar to Scripture. We find similar conceptions among the Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, and even among the Polynesians and related peoples,—indeed, among all nations that have not reached the Copernican standpoint.[1]

The general features of the particular cosmogony presupposed in Gen. i., however, are Babylonian. As has been already shown (p. 50), the original home of the tradition must have been an alluvial land like Babylonia, and the description and name of the primæval state of chaos, as well as the general stages in the order of creation, closely correspond to the parallels found in the Babylonian *Seven Tables of Creation.* The Babylonian myth has been convincingly explained by Jensen (*Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 308 ff.), whose interpretation is followed by all subsequent scholars. Three *motifs* appear in the development of the poem: (1) Marduk is the god of light. His appearance, therefore, represents the emergence of light from the primæval darkness. This idea rests, doubtless, on the phenomenon of the dawn, the daily emergence of light from the darkness of the night, by which the gloom is chased

[1] The practical identity of the Hebrew and Babylonian views of the Universe is well shown through the comparison of the diagrams of Whitehouse (art. "Cosmogony," *Dict. Bible*, i. 503) and Jensen (*Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, fly-leaf at end). But essentially the same features meet us in the Greek world (cf. Preller-Robert, *Griechische Mythologie*, i. 39 f.; Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. u. Religionsgeschichte*, i. 380 ff.). On the conceptions of the Persians, and of the distant Polynesian races, cf. Exeg. Note on i. 7.

away, and all things are flooded with light. (2) His battle with Tiamat, the goddess of watery chaos, reflects the yearly victory of spring over the floods which in winter overwhelm the land, as the result of which the earth is dried up, vegetation springs forth, and animals and men appear to enliven the earth. The poet throws back this annual phenomenon to the primæval age, when all things first assumed their form. (3) Certain elements in the description of the battle (iv. 95 ff.) point to wild storms as an element. In this the poet is probably analogising from the storms of early spring, which help to drive back the waters and dry the earth. Possibly, too, he thinks of the coming back of the sunshine, when the wild winds have tossed away the obstructing clouds. At all events, he explains the creation of the universe through the analogy of the ordinary processes and phenomena of Nature, as he sees them daily and yearly repeated before his eyes.

The chaste and sober description of creation in Gen. i. omits the wilder and more grotesque features of the Babylonian myth. But it retains the first two *motifs*, and the general course of the creative process. The analogy of the dawn appears in the creation of light. Over the primæval chaos broods darkness as of night. But as the morning light swallows up the darkness, heralds the coming of the sun, and awakens the living creatures, so the calling forth of the light on the first morning of creation scatters the primæval darkness, and prepares the way for the making of the sun and moon, and the rising of animals and men to life and activity. The general description of the creative process, however, is governed by the second *motif*.

The chaotic state is the reflection of the winter condition of the alluvial plains of Babylonia,—the earth covered with water, and therefore "waste and void," destitute of vegetation and life. But as the land becomes dry and fruitful through the genial influence of the spring drought and sunshine, so at the Divine command the waters are gathered into their appropriate channels and basins, the dry land thus emerges, vegetation clothes the earth, and animals appear to roam over its surface, and man to till its soil and inhabit its plains and cities.

The correspondence between the Babylonian and Hebrew accounts of creation is thus too close to permit of Wellhausen's idea that the latter is a piece of independent "reasoned reflection about natural objects," parallel to "the attempts of Thales and his successors" to explain the universe from its ultimate elements (cf. *Prol.*[3] p. 312). Yet the author of Gen. i. does not blindly follow the Babylonian order. The difference is but slight (cf. p. 52), yet enough to show that here, as elsewhere, the Priestly writer arranges, and rearranges, his materials according to principles of his own.

The symmetry that pervades the chapter has been observed from early times, and formed the basis of different schemes of classification. Thus Thomas Aquinas tabulated the steps of creation under the rubrics *opus distinctionis et opus ornatus* (following the Vulgate's rendering of MT. צְבָאָם, LXX ὁ κόσμος αὐτῶν, in ii. 2) as follows:

Opera distinctionis.	*Opera ornatus.*
I Day. Light.	IV Day. Luminaries.
II Day. The Firmament of Heaven.	V Day. Fishes and Birds.
III Day. Sea and Land, with Vegetation.	VI Day. Cattle, Beasts, and Man.

This classification has been adopted not only by Roman Catholic divines, but by several Protestant scholars as well. . Apart, however, from the doubtful appropriateness of the term *ornatus* to describe fishes, birds, cattle and man, in relation to their respective spheres, the parallelism sought is far from complete. Thus, vegetation, which may most appropriately be described as the *ornatus* of the earth, appears on the same day; the fishes and birds are found opposite the firmament, instead of the elements sea and air; and the land animals stand over against the double work of sea and land.

A scheme which Wellhausen has suggested (*Prol.*[3] p. 310) has found acceptance by several leading scholars. Disregarding the "six days"—as a framework superimposed on an earlier "eight works" order of creation—they classify the works according to "elements and individual beings" (Well., Gunkel), or "habitat and inhabitants" (Holz.), as follows:

Elements.	*Inhabitants.*
I. Light.	V. Light-bodies.
II. Heaven.	VI. Fishes.
III. Sea.	VII. Birds.
IV. Land and Vegetation.	VIII. Animals and Man.

But this arrangement also is open to objection. The difficulty about the vegetation remains, while the parallelism fails in works II. VI. and III. VII. Had the author really meant to classify the works according to this principle, he must have set the birds and fishes over against their respective elements.

It seems better, then, to abandon the scheme of strict parallelism, and to arrange the works of creation

rather according to the principle laid down by the author himself in ii. 2, where the "works" are classified as "the heavens and the earth, and all their host,"[1]—thus:

I. Light: as the condition of all order and progress.
II. The Firmament: separating Heaven and Earth.
III. Segregation of Earth into Sea and Land, the latter with its clothing of Vegetation.
IV. The Host of Heaven: Sun, Moon and Stars.
V. The Host of Air and Sea: Fishes and Birds.
VI. The Host of Earth: Animals and Man.

This arrangement secures a natural movement of creation, unfettered by attempts at forced parallelism. It further preserves the "six days" scheme as an integral part of P's construction. This is in entire harmony with his general method. His history is throughout arranged under chronological data. It is fitting, therefore, that the account of creation, which serves as the introduction to the history proper, should be laid out on the same principle.

There are various other passages in the Old Testament that relate to God's creative work. In a considerable number of these (*e.g.* Amos iv. 13, v. 8, ix. 6; Jer. x. 12 f., xxxii. 17; Isa. xl. 12 ff., 21 ff.; xlii. 5, xlv. 7 ff.; Job ix. 8 f.; Prov. iii. 19 f.; Ps. xc. 2,

[1] The word צְבָא, literally meaning "army," is frequently applied to the heavenly bodies (2 Kings xvii. 16, xxi. 3, 5; Isa. xl. 26, xlv. 12; etc.), and is thus an entirely appropriate designation for the sun, moon and stars. It is nowhere else used for the inhabitants of earth, but may be applied to them through an extension of meaning, to convey the notion of "organised and disciplined bodies" (cf. Exeg. Notes). The use of this term would explain the combination of vegetation with the earth. As fixedly attached to the soil, and incapable of movement from the root, herbs and trees could not well be regarded as the "host" of earth.

cii. 25) we have but general references to God's "forming the mountains," "creating the winds," "forming the Pleiades and Orion," "building His chambers in the heavens, and founding His vault upon the earth," and "pouring the waters of the sea upon the face of the ground," "stretching out the heavens as a curtain, and spreading them out as a tent to dwell in," "creating the stars, and marshalling their hosts," "making earth, and creating man," and the like, without any formal cosmological scheme, or detailed description of the creative process. In other instances (*e.g.* Ps. viii. 1 ff., xxxiii. 6–9, cxxxvi. 5–9, and cxlviii.) we have clear allusions to, sometimes even verbal reminiscences of, Gen. i. Independent accounts of creation are found in Job xxvi. 5–13, xxxviii.–xxxix.; Prov. viii. 22–31; and Ps. civ. In spite, however, of certain resemblances in details, the complexion and outlook of these passages are entirely distinct from what we find in Gen. i. In place of the sober, formal statement of creation in Gen. i., we have in them free, winged poetry. They are concerned not with the precise steps in the order of creation, but with the beauty and majesty of the universe and its works, as reflections of the glory of the Creator. Till a late epoch, therefore, the Hebrews had no rigid doctrine of creation, no stereotyped and "orthodox" view of the order and process of the cosmic development. Not, indeed, until the canonisation of the Pentateuch was the account in Gen. i. accepted as the dogmatic statement of creation, and the basis of later Jewish speculation (cf. Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, pp. 200 ff.).

Apart from Gen. i., the "six days" creation is referred to only in two passages of the Old Testament:

Ex. xx. 11 and xxxi. 17, in both of which it appears, as in Gen. ii. 2 f., as the motive for the keeping of the Sabbath. The latter text occurs in a secondary element in P, and is therefore clearly dependent on Gen. ii. 2 f. The relation of the former text to P's record of creation is more doubtful. The verse is, indeed, universally recognised as a redactional addition to the original text of the Decalogue. (Ctr. the parallel version in Deut. v. 15, where quite a different motive is given for the keeping of the Sabbath.) But the difference in phraseology has led several commentators (*e.g.* Holz., Gunk.) to ascribe it to an editor earlier than the final redactor of JE and P. Such an enumeration as "the heavens and earth, the sea and all that in them is," however, is thoroughly characteristic of the final redactor (cf. similar specifications in Gen. vi. 7, vii. 7, 23, etc.) In our judgment, therefore, the verse is most naturally to be assigned to him. Or even if it belong to another pen, the style and view alike would point to a member of the same circle as P and his priestly collaborateurs, who sought to connect the sacred institutions of Israel more definitely with the great moments in the development of the history.

To men imbued with the theocratic idea, the "six days" creation was a natural conception. The creation of the universe must be represented as a gradual process, developing in periods of time neither too short nor too long. The week was the fittest period for such a process. Not only could it be portioned out into convenient sections for the separate steps of creation, but the week "was itself hallowed by religion"[1] through the weekly

[1] De Wette, *Beiträge*, ii. p. 37.

Sabbath. Thus God's work became the supreme example for man's, and at the same time a new and more binding motive was found for the observance of the Sabbath day.

In what light, then, are the cosmogonies of Genesis to be regarded? And what is their permanent value?

1. In connection with Gen. i., Wellhausen has justly emphasised the fact that "the aim of the narrator is not mainly"—we should rather say "not merely"—"religious." For "had he only meant to say that God made the world out of nothing, and made it good, he could have said so in simpler words, and at the same time more distinctly."[1] His aim is also "scientific." According to the knowledge of his time, he seeks to set forth the "science" of creation: to show how, and in what order, the existing world, as he saw and understood it, came into being. The same is true of Gen. ii. The authors of that tradition also sought, according to the more naïve views and conceptions of a primitive age, to explain the world they knew and were interested in.

It is easy to point out the "unscientific" elements in both cosmogonies: the "childlike" idea of Jahveh's "making" man and animals from the clay of the oasis in the one, and the attribution of creation to a six days' work some 4000 years B.C., with such other primitive features as the separation of light from the sun, which is the source of the earth's light, the conception of the "firmament" as a solid dome not far removed from the earth, the appearance of vegetation before the sun, the creation of the heavenly bodies after the earth, their "fixing" in the "firmament of heaven," the geocentric

[1] *Prol.*[3] p. 311 (Eng. tr. p. 298).

idea which makes the sun and moon alike "satellites" of the earth, and the stars insignificant appendages to sun and moon, the conception of the creation of the animals directly from their native element instead of from previously existent forms of life, and that creation a successive process, at clearly defined periods, instead of simultaneous progression (as geology shows the development of life to have largely been), in the other.

These features are not to be explained away, but to be frankly recognised as belonging to the science of the time. The writers of Scripture shared the general scientific ideas of their age. And their cosmogonies were based on these. The existence of primitive conceptions, however, ought not to blind us to the grandeur especially of the presentations of P, or to the profound ideas he conveys. To estimate the real value of his cosmogony, we should compare it, not with modern science, but with other primitive representations of creation. And the more reasonably we judge his conceptions, the worthier they appear. Thus, all that is bizarre and grotesque is absent from P's account of creation. The whole chapter is sober, grave, and dignified, cast in a literary style of exalted grandeur which has won the admiration of critics from Longinus' time (cf. *De Subl.* ix. 9). And, as we have pointed out, both he and the earlier writer work on the same principles as the stricter scientist of to-day. They, too, start from the world as they understand it, and explain its origin as the result of the same natural processes as they find still in operation around them (cf. p. 123). In his general ideas, P even anticipates modern science. His conception of the evolution of Cosmos from primæval chaos is closely

related to that of the scientific man of to-day—the fundamental idea in each of their minds being orderly progress from the simple and homogeneous to the complex and heterogeneous, and from the material elements to life and consciousness.[1] The general stages in the process of creation are also the same in both: the ordering of heaven and earth (although the scientific view of their relation is different), the growth of vegetation from the earth, and the appearance in order of fishes, birds, mammals and men (although different classes of living beings existed together in long-past ages). In Gen. i., then, we have primitive science, but that in its purest, worthiest, and most abiding form.

2. The authors of both cosmogonies, however, have a religious aim as well. For them Nature is no dead mass, but almost a living creature, impregnated and vitalised by the Spirit of God. This is set forth, indeed, only in Gen. i. 2. But both writers look on natural processes as at the same time the actions of God (cf. pp. 103 f.). He is the source of Nature's life. And the process of creation is all of His "fashioning." He "waters" the barren desert, and makes it a smiling oasis, on which life and beauty will appear. He too calls forth the elements and living creatures hidden away under the darkness of chaos. All is natural. Yet all things are the expression of the will of God. Here we have the poetic and religious, together with the scientific, view in one.

[1] Cf. Herbert Spencer's famous definition of the Evolution process: "a change from an indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to a definite coherent heterogeneity, through successive differentiations and integrations." Of course, both are but formulæ descriptive of the outward process. The vital principles that cause the change have also to be explained. Gen. i. finds these in the Spirit and Word of God.

From this standpoint, "all that God had made" was "very good," Nature being indeed the manifestation of the glory of God (cf. Ps. xix. 2), and both Nature and man existing to "show forth His praise." Thus creation culminates in the Sabbath day, which God has "hallowed" for Himself, and the chapter forms the fitting introduction to the *theocratic* history which follows.

For us, this is the real and permanent value of the chapter. As the first great Hymn of Creation, it must ever maintain an imperishable place in religious literature. No advance of Science can antiquate its teaching. Science may fill in the details of the process. But only the Bible can declare with authority that Evolution is but the natural side of God's creation. In striking this key-note so clearly and purely, the cosmogonies of Genesis, and especially that in the first chapter, are therefore worthy to stand in the fore-front of the Book which records the Revelation of God.

CHAPTER VII.

The Nature and Destiny of Man.

Although the ancient world is thus interested in the phenomena of Nature, its chief interest, like our own, is in man: his place in the universe, his nature and destiny, his ideals and aspirations, hopes and struggles, faith and progress.

The pre-eminence of man is implied in the place attributed to him in both the cosmogonies of Genesis. In the earlier and more naïve narrative of J, he is the first work of Jahveh, "formed" as soon as the material for his creation was prepared, and a dwelling-place made ready for him, while all the other creatures are made for his pleasure, comfort and use. In the later cosmogony of P, on the other hand, the order of creation ascends step by step to man, who is the last and greatest work of God, the crown and goal of the creative process. Thus both writers, in their different ways, set forth man's supremacy over all the other creations of God.

In what, then, does this supremacy consist?

In the Jahvistic narrative, Jahveh "moulds" man of plastic ground, from which consequently he derives his name. But thus far man is only בָּשָׂר, lifeless "flesh" or body, which will crumble again into earth, and finally into dry dust (iii. 19; cf. vi. 3). Into the

lifeless form of humanity Jahveh then "breathes" His breath, and man becomes נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה, a living being, with all the capacities of feeling, thinking, and acting (cf. Exeg. Notes on ii. 7).

In respect, however, of the mere materials of which he is made, man is not distinguished from the lower animals. They, too, are "moulded out of the ground" (ii. 19). They are likewise upheld by the breath of God, the source of their vital energy as well, the removal of the breath meaning for them also death and corruption (vii. 22; cf. Ps. civ. 29 f.; Eccles. iii. 19 ff.). In this, then, "a man hath no pre-eminence above a beast" (Eccles. iii. 19).

But even in J's description of man's creation, we can trace clear evidence of his "pre-eminence": in the interest that Jahveh takes in his formation, and above all in the relation of friendship He institutes between Himself and man. As was pointed out above, the creation of man is Jahveh's first and chief work, all else centring round that. And on this work He bestows special care. Although of the same "ground" as the animals, Jahveh "moulds" for him a far finer and nobler body, fitted to be the instrument of worthier activities. And although the animals also derive their "breath" from Jahveh, it is only of man the writer says, "Jahveh breathed into his nostrils the breath of life" (ii. 7). The reason for this peculiar interest and care on Jahveh's part appears in the subsequent course of the narrative. Jahveh means man to be His friend. He cares for him, supplies his needs, seeks to make all things pleasant and good for him, provides him with a suitable "helpmate" (ii. 21 ff.), places him in His own garden, the management

of which He entrusts to him (ii. 8 ff.), undertakes in Person his education, mental and moral (ii. 15 ff.), and often in the evening comes down to walk and talk with him in the garden (iii. 8). In this earliest representation of human nature and destiny, then, man's supremacy consists essentially in his fitness to be the friend of Jahveh, and in the pains Jahveh takes in making him worthy of His friendship.

The Priestly writer sets forth this idea with more decision. He does not mention the material elements of which man was created. No doubt, he also thought of him as "made of the earth," like the lower animals (cf. p. 129). But this he passes over, as far more concerned with the characteristic features of man's creation that gave him his unique supremacy over all God's other creatures. In P's account, this supremacy appears also, partly, in the interest God takes in His crowning work. In the case of His other creations, God simply issues His command, and the work is done. In this instance the work is preceded by a solemn and elevated introduction, in which the Creator deliberates as to the glory with which He is to crown His new creation, unfolds His plans to His heavenly council, and invites their special interest and sympathy (i. 26). But man's characteristic distinction lies in his creation "in the image of God (or the godlike beings)." To ascertain the ideal nature of man and the qualities by which he holds pre-eminence over the lower creation, according to P, we must elucidate the exact significance of this phrase.

To reach a just conception, we must keep close to the words themselves. It is really going round the idea, instead of grappling with the heart of the

question, to maintain with Holzinger (*Kurzer H.-C.* p. 12) that "the image of God" consists in man's dominion over the creatures (i. 26). That is the result, not the essential quality, of the "image." Man has "dominion over the fish of the sea, etc.," because there is something "Godlike" in his nature, by virtue of which he is lord over the lower creation, as God is Lord of all. Nor can the "image of God" be, either in whole or part, some quality of original perfection that belonged to "unfallen" man, but has since departed from the race, as the older Dogmatics represented. The Fall plays no part in P's presentation of history. The whole tenor of his account of creation and the subsequent development of history implies that the "image" belongs to man as man, and was handed down from Adam to Seth (v. 3), and thence doubtless to succeeding generations, by virtue of ordinary descent. On the other hand, to identify the "image" with "the gift of self-conscious reason" (Driver, *Genesis*, p. 15) appears to us not merely to read philosophical conceptions, which the Oriental author would hardly have understood, into a product of ancient thought, but to take one part of the "image" for the whole. To appreciate the full significance of the idea, we must place ourselves at the standpoint of P himself, and do justice to the term he uses to convey his idea. The word צֶלֶם was used originally of any plastic image, but chiefly of idols, as images, *i.e.* copies or facsimiles, of the gods represented (cf. Exeg. Note). In deliberately using this word, then, P must have meant to imply that man was created in the exact likeness of God and His angels, just as Seth was born in the likeness of his father Adam (v. 3). In other

words, man was created "like God" in all the faculties that go to form his personality. The emphasis, no doubt, lies on the intellectual, ethical, and religious powers and capacities of man. But man's external appearance must likewise be included in the implication of the term.[1] This is, no doubt, alien to our ways of thought. But the Hebrews had not our ideas of pure spirituality. To God, too, they ascribed form. And as the noblest form they knew was the human, they thought of God as "in the appearance of man"—of finer, purer substance, indeed, but with an "appearance" like their own, however much exalted in dignity and glory (cf. Chapter V. p. 112). It was natural, therefore, that the Hebrew writer should think of man, on his part, as "in the likeness of God," and that he should attribute the nobility of the human form[2] to his creation by God "in His own image."

The essence of the Hebrew conception of God having been found to lie in His "ethical personality" (cf. pp. 115 ff.), human nature thus shares the same character. Though made "of the earth earthy," man is yet a rational, moral, religious being, worthy to "walk with" God. Thus P's conception of human

[1] Thus, while he regards the "image" as consisting "only" in man's spiritual qualities (thought, self-consciousness, freedom of will, and capacity for knowing and loving God and eternal Goodness and Truth), Dillmann finds in the body of man "the fit expression and instrument of his spirit" (*Genesis*, pp. 32 f.). But we ought to bring man's physical nature into more definite relation to the "image." Gunkel errs on the other side in referring the "image of God" "in the first place" to the body, "although the spiritual aspect is not altogether excluded" (*Hand-K.* p. 102). The emphasis ought rather to be laid on the spiritual, "although the other side is not excluded." The "image" really embraces man's whole personality.

[2] The Jewish Rabbis also make the צֶלֶם אֱלֹהִים (which, however, they regard as "image of the angels") to consist in man's external appearance, the דְּמוּת relating to the spiritual qualities (Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, pp. 209 f.).

nature is essentially the same as that of J (cf. pp. 142 f.). In both, it is man's close relation of friendly intimacy with God that gives him his chief pre-eminence. So far, then, from this passage standing as an isolated phenomenon in Old Testament literature, "as unsuitable as possible for the basis of Biblical Anthropology" (Holz., *Kurzer H.-C.* p. 12), it but gives definite expression to the underlying assumption of the Old Testament, and indeed of all religious literature, and lays down the fundamental principle of Revelation. The possibility of man's approach to God, and of God's "unveiling Himself" to men, depends on such a personal relation of man to God as J portrays in his picture of Eden, and P explains by man's creation "in the image of God."

The ideas we have found contained in these early chapters of Genesis are not, however, peculiar to Israel. They all find their parallels in the conceptions of other nations. And some of them are widely distributed. The derivation of man from earth is a common-place of early cosmogonies (cf. Exeg. Note on ii. 7). The notion of the breath of God as the cause and potency of life recalls certain classical conceptions of the soul as a breath *ἐκ τοῦ ὅλου*, wafted by the winds into the bodies of those that inhale it,[1] or as that part of human nature which comes *μόνον ἐκ θεῶν*,[2] or as a *particula auræ divinæ*.[3] The thought of man as "in the likeness of God" is likewise found in the ethnic religions. It is not merely the underlying presupposi-

[1] The Orphic idea, according to Arist., *De Anima*, I. v. 15.
[2] Pindar, *Thren.* fr. 2.
[3] Horace, *Sat.* ii. 2, l. 79; cf. Cic., *De Senectute*, xxi. 77.

tion of the anthropomorphic conception of the heavenly Powers, but is expressly set forth in Babylonian mythology (cf. App. B, p. 334), and in such classical phrases as εἰκὼν θεοῦ, εἰκὼν πρὸς θέον, *ad imaginem Dei*, *in effigiem deorum*, *similes Deorum*, etc.[1]

The peculiar distinction of the Hebrew religion thus lies not in the form, but in the content, of the conception —in the idea the Hebrews actually cherished of God, and what "likeness to Him" involves. The heathen nations thought of the gods as like themselves, attributing to them their own foibles, weaknesses, passions, and sins. This attitude to the gods reacted on their thoughts of man, and in many respects tended to degrade rather than exalt human nature. On the other hand, the Hebrews thought of God as an elevated ethical personality, who loved righteousness and hated iniquity, but was yet "gracious and full of compassion, slow to anger and of great mercy" (cf. pp. 120 ff.). The thought of man as made "in the image" of such a God thus exalted human nature, and even before the thought was definitely expressed in language, was the mainspring of that moral idealism which raised the Hebrew spirit above the traditions of the past, as well as the influence of heathen surroundings, to the heights it reached in the teachings and aspirations of its prophets and poets. The motive of morality, whether expressly formulated or but unconsciously felt, was to be "like God" in character and conduct, as in nature and form: to "walk before God, and be perfect" (Gen. xvii. 1), "to do justly and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God" (Mic. vi. 8).

[1] Cf. Dill., *Genesis*, p. 33; Schmidt, *Ethik der Alten Griechen*, i. 377.

In the Jahvistic narrative we have no formal characterisations of man's ethical and religious nature, but rather concrete pictures of the origin and early life of man on earth, in which the Hebrews, like other ancient peoples, embody their ideals, and throw them back into a past "golden age." In these pictures man appears not as a fully developed ethical personality (as P represents him), but rather as a grown-up child, naked yet unconscious of shame, ignorant of the arts and pursuits of life, and without knowledge of the distinction of "good and evil."[1] But through the very *naïveté* of the representation, the ideals embodied in the pictures are all the more transparent.

1. The thought of man's ethical relationship to Jahveh has kept the Hebrew traditions entirely free from those coarse and materialistic views of man's origin which we find among other nations: such as his "autochthonous" appearance from the ground itself, or from stones, trees, plants, and other natural objects, his formation from the blood, or some other part of the body, of a god, and his actual blood-descent from a god. The only approach to the latter of these conceptions is found in the crude fragment of Canaanite mythology incorporated in J (Gen. vi. 1 f.) of the descent of the Nephilim from marriages between the "sons of God" and mortal women. According to the

[1] We cannot accept Cheyne's assertion (*Traditions and Beliefs*, pp. 71 f.) that the representation of the first man as "a king and a demi-god" (cf. Ezek. xxviii. 12 ff.; Job xv. 7 f.) was "the older type of the tradition." The more naïve picture is in harmony with the representations of other primitive peoples, while the attribution of superhuman knowledge and wisdom to the figures of the past reminds us rather of the later Jewish pseudepigraphical literature.

Jahvistic writer, Jahveh "makes" man, "breathes into his nostrils the breath of life," and sends him forth to the world as an independent personal being. The ethical character of God is thus preserved together with the free personal dignity of man.

2. The being thus formed and endowed with life is not meant to pass a dull, soulless existence like the beasts around him. In giving them names, he already asserts his lordship over them. And this lordship can only be sought in mind. In physical stature and strength, man is smaller and weaker than many of the creatures he rules. But by virtue of his mental powers he is master of the strongest. The placing of man in the garden of Eden "to till it and to keep it" (ii. 15) is also an index of man's higher destiny. He is neither meant by Jahveh to be idle, nor to spend his strength in drudging service, but to occupy himself with work congenial to his spirit, which will exercise and develop his faculties, while filling his mind with healthy interest. This forms the impulse to human progress in knowledge, civilisation, and art.

3. At the same time, this being has social and human instincts which can be satisfied neither with the beauties of the garden, nor with the activities of work and mental occupation, nor with the comradeship of the animals. He still seeks for "an helper corresponding to him"—a kindred spirit to share his life and work, and be his constant companion, friend, and confidante. The story of the formation of the woman, exquisitely chaste, tender, and delicate, reveals to us the Hebrew ideal of the mutual relationship of the sexes. The story is a myth, worked out from such materials

as the name of woman (אִשָּׁה supposed to be = מֵאִישָׁהּ, "from her man") and the proverb עֶצֶם מֵעֲצָמַי וּבָשָׂר מִבְּשָׂרִי (the expression of closest intimacy and union), but all the more clearly does it show how purely and sacredly the best spirits among the Hebrews thought of marriage and its mutual privileges and obligations. The lower animals also were formed "man and his wife" (vii. 2 ff.), for the explicit purpose of propagating the species—that and nothing else (cf. vii. 3, etc.). The woman made for the first man is, no doubt, intended to be the "mother of all living" (iii. 20).[1] But the mere sexual aspect of marriage is not obtruded, probably not even in ii. 24 (see Exeg. Note). The woman is the "helper corresponding to" man—a being different in physique, appearance, and temperament, but with a higher harmony of nature and feeling that makes her the fittest comrade and intimate of man (cf. Exeg. Notes, *s.l.*). And marriage between man and woman is a close and sacred union of natures, designed for mutual comfort, help, and enjoyment.

4. But man has instincts higher even than his social needs and feelings. From the interest that Jahveh takes in his formation and equipment for life, He clearly intends him to be His friend. Thus the myth represents man as naturally and instinctively a religious being, fitted for fellowship with Jahveh, and only in that fellowship reaching his highest life. The ideal relation between man and God is suggested in iii. 8, where

[1] We see no ground for Cheyne's dogmatic statement (*Traditions and Beliefs*, p. 82) that, "according to the later editor" (who gave the chapters their present form), "it was not God's will that man and woman should beget children." This, surely, is the presupposition of the history that the writer unfolds in his narrative.

Jahveh is represented as coming down in the cool of the evening to walk in the garden, and calling the man to His presence. The implication clearly is that before the act of disobedience Jahveh and the man walked and talked together with the free glad confidence of friends. The writer, no doubt, meant the phrase to be taken literally. To the Hebrews, as to other nations, the early morning of history was a time when God was nearer to His creatures than now, and when He appeared to them in actual, visible form.[1] But the phrase continued to be used when religious life was regarded in a purely spiritual light (cf. p. 122). Thus, to the Hebrew, undefiled religion meant the closest possible intimacy between God and man.

5. In the thought of primitive peoples, morality is bound up with religion. Those who walk with God ought naturally to become "like Him."[2] Thus in Gen. xvii. 1 and Mic. vi. 8, the two phrases are linked together: "Walk before Me, and be thou perfect"; "do justly, and love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God." In the Jahvistic narrative they are not thus connected by definite formulæ. But in concrete representation it is shown how Jahveh concerns Himself first and foremost with man's moral well-being. The great interest of the narrative of chs. ii. and iii. centres not in man's creation, or his happiness in the garden, not even in his union with the woman Jahveh makes for

[1] In the primæval age men lived ὥς τε θεοὶ ἀκηδέα θύμον ἔχοντες (Hes., *Works and Days*, l. 112), as ξένοι καὶ ὁμοτράπεζοι θεοῖς (Paus. VIII. ii. 2). And still "heaven lies about us in our infancy."

[2] So the Greeks, whether explicitly or not, regarded ὁμοιῶσις θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δύνατον as the end of conduct (cf. Schmidt, *Ethik der Alten Griechen*, i. 11 ff.).

him, but in the moral test that Jahveh prepares for him, and the manner in which he and his wife meet the test. For, as will be argued more fully when we deal with the act of disobedience, it is a real moral discipline and education Jahveh has in view when He lays upon him the command in ii. 16 f. He means him to be a son after His own mind and heart.

6. To primitive peoples, as to children, life appears self-evident, and death the "non-natural and intrusive"[1] thing which requires to be explained and apologised for. Thus man is conceived by them as by nature immortal, in the sense of undying, and the death which interrupts the course of his life is accounted for as the result of some untoward calamity or crime.[2] This conception likewise pervades J's account of the origin of the race. The cause and power of man's life is the "breath" which Jahveh "breathes" into him (ii. 7). So long, then, as Jahveh continues His breath in him, he lives. And there is no reason in the nature of things why Jahveh should remove His breath. Indeed, Jahveh seems to intend him to be immortal. Death is to be the result of his breaking Jahveh's commandment (ii. 17). It is implied in this that obedience will keep death at bay, and thus preserve man's life for ever. The possibility of immortality is distinctly recognised by Jahveh in the cruder version of the Fall in iii. 22, 24. There "living for ever" is the natural effect of eating of the "tree of life." And Jahveh has to guard the

[1] A. Lang, *Modern Mythology*, p. 178. Cf. Rohde, *Psyche*, p. 1.

[2] A. Lang, *op. cit.* pp. 179 ff. Thus the Greeks thought of man as deathless until Pandora opened the fatal vessel, and let out "baneful cares" for men (Hes., *Works and Days*, ll. 90 ff.).

approach of the tree, lest man should defy Him, and eat, and "live for ever." Man's natural immortality is likewise implied in vi. 3. There, too, Jahveh would seem to have intended His spirit, or breath, to "abide for ever" in man, and thus to secure his immortality. Only as the result of the "transgression" does He change His intention, and impose a limit to the "abiding" of His breath, and consequently to human life.

In this naïve, mythical presentation, then, we have an ideal portrait of man as a moral personality, who can fulfil his true vocation only in home and social life through the various obligations and responsibilities of marriage, friendship, and work, but above all as a religious being, who reaches his highest life in fellowship with God, "walking with Him," doing His will, and thus growing "like Him" in character. This representation of man's nature and destiny stands as far above the parallel myths of other nations as the Old Testament conception of God, even in its earlier stages, above theirs. It forms a worthy introduction to the history of man regarded from the standpoint of Divine Revelation and education. Nor is its value really impaired by the advance of science and the progress of religion. Whatever man's origin and early condition, and whatever the heights of Divine knowledge and perfection to which he was afterwards to rise, we have here the characteristic features of his nature as an intellectual, moral, and religious being already drawn with a sure hand. Advancing knowledge of God only perfected the "first sketch" in Genesis.

All nations have felt the shock of the contrast

between the ideal they formed in their imagination and the realities of life as they saw them in actual experience. To the Hebrews, from the very loftiness of their ideal, the shock was greatest of all. If man is the favourite creation of Jahveh, made to enjoy the goodness of life in happy harmony with his Maker and Friend, why is his actual life such hard and unremitting drudgery? Why must he toil so hard, yet find thorns and thistles springing up, so that he must eat his bread "in the sweat of his brow" and "the hard travail of his hands"? Why, too, should the blessing of children entail upon the woman such pain and sorrow? And why was heaven so much farther off now than in the childhood of the race? Why did God no longer walk with man in such intimate relations as once He did? And why was it so difficult to obey Him, and to become "like Him"? Why, above all, did man die, and return to dust, and thus have his enjoyment of life and his fellowship with God cut off at one swift blow? Why should he not enjoy for ever "the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living"?

These pressing questions are answered in the sequel to the myth of origin—the "problem myth" of ch. iii.[1] As we have pointed out, however, this chapter contains fragments of an older version, showing more resemblance to Babylonian sources, and giving a somewhat different explanation of the entrance of death. In vi. 3—an appendage to the old Canaanite story of the angels'

[1] According to Cheyne (*Traditions and Beliefs*, p. 83), "Gen. iii. is not a myth to account for the presence of death." It certainly is not concerned exclusively with the origin of death. But it explains *that* among the other ills of life—attributing them all alike to sin (cf. pp. 160 ff.).

unions with the "daughters of men"—we have yet another explanation of the mystery. The two latter versions, or parallels, of the "problem myth" are only partially assimilated to the Hebrew world of thought, both of them showing traces of crude conceptions of the Divine character, which are either relics of heathenism or "survivals" of an outworn creed, but in any case not genuine reflections of the Hebrew spirit (cf. pp. 8 ff.). Only in the main body of ch. iii. do we find the raw materials of which the myth is formed thoroughly wrought into the Hebrew mould. While we shall study the parallel narratives to discover what light they shed on the problems of life and death, we shall look for the genuine expression of the Israelite mind in the main connected narrative in Gen. iii.

In both the versions, the action turns on the eating of "the tree of the knowledge of good and evil." But the relation of eating of the tree and the mortality which follows is differently represented. In the older version, another tree stood near "the tree of knowledge" in the "garden of Jahveh": "the tree of life," *i.e.* the tree which, by virtue of its peculiar properties, secured immortal life to the eater (cf. Exeg. Note on iii. 22*b*). As this version of the myth also is intended to explain the origin of death, it would appear as if Jahveh, while strictly forbidding man to touch the former tree,—the "knowledge of good and evil" being an attribute He wished to preserve for Himself and the angels alone, —meant him to enjoy the fruit of the latter, and so to "live for ever." Man, however, grasped at the former; and Jahveh, jealous for His honour, drove him out of the garden, and so prevented his winning immortal life

as well. In the main body of the narrative, death is the direct result of eating the forbidden fruit. In the day that man eats thereof, Jahveh will remove His breath, and man will die (ii. 17). And although Jahveh in mercy delays the day of doom, yet in due course He does withdraw His breath, and man "returns to dust" (iii. 19). In the older version, the ethical motive is little in evidence. The contest seems rather one between man's presumption and Jahveh's jealousy for His honour (cf. the precisely similar cast of the narrative in xi. 5 ff., and to a certain extent of vi. 1 ff.). But in the main narrative that motive is predominant. However we explain "the knowledge of good and evil," it is a moral test that Jahveh imposes upon man. He makes known His will in the command not to eat of the tree; penalties are attached to disobedience; and man is left, as a moral personality, face to face with the issues.

In what, then, does "the knowledge of good and evil" consist?

The idea which Gunkel has propounded, that the "knowledge" is mainly sexual consciousness, and that the direct result of the eating appears in iii. 7 (*Hand-K.* pp. 14 f., 25 ff.), seems hardly to need serious refutation. The dawn of sexual consciousness is simply the natural result of personal development, and would not have needed so tragically cast a myth as Gen. iii. to explain it. That result, indeed, is implied in the formation of woman to be man's "helpmate" (cf. p. 150). Nor does sexual consciousness involve the sufferings depicted in iii. 15 ff. The Hebrew would never have attributed to his Jahveh so ruthless penalties for a result involved

in His own creative work, nor have thought of natural instincts as the cause of "all the ills that flesh is heir to." It is equally false, in our judgment, to seek in iii. 7 alone the effect, or even the principal effect, of the eating. The dawn of sexual consciousness is a concomitant, indeed, due to the quickened feeling which any great mental crisis brings with it. This touch in the picture may be due, as well, to the observation that sexual consciousness comes with general maturity of mind. But the real result of the eating the forbidden fruit appears in vv. 8 ff., in the evil conscience that replaces the former innocency of the man and his wife, and in their fear of Jahveh, and desire to "hide themselves from His face," that destroys for ever their once happy confidence and intimacy with Him. The pretext alleged by the man, "because I am naked" (ver. 10), is clearly not the ground of their "fear," but a poor excuse, like that a child might offer, which cannot blind the eyes of Jahveh. The real offence, as He presses home on them (ver. 11), is not their nakedness, or consciousness of nakedness, but their disobedience, in "eating of the tree, of which He commanded them not to eat." And here we must look for the real answer to the question.

The explanation offered by Wellhausen, and thence adopted by many Old Testament scholars, demands more serious treatment. In this view, "what is here forbidden is rather knowledge as such, general knowledge, or getting the eyes opened, as it is afterwards called." Knowledge in the ancient world meaning also "power and no mere metaphysic," this knowledge is practically "what we call civilisation." And "this is what transcends, in the writer's view, the limits of our nature: prying out

the secret of things, the secret of the world,—looking, as it were, over God's hand, to see how He goes to work in His living activity, so as perhaps to learn His method and imitate Him." This knowledge being the attribute of God alone, it is presumption on man's part to seek it. "And yet the forbidden good has the most powerful attraction for him; he burns to possess it, and instead of resigning himself in trust and reverence, he seeks to steal the jewel which is jealously guarded from him, and so to become like God—to his own sorrow." Thus man's growing civilisation means also "his alienation from his highest good." "As the human race goes forward in civilisation, it goes backward in the fear of God." And "(this is evidently the idea, though it is not stated) the restless advance never reaches its goal after all; it is a Sisyphus-labour; the tower of Babel, which is incomplete to all eternity, is the proper symbol for it. The strain is that strain of unsatisfied longing which is to be heard among all peoples. On attaining to civilisation, they become aware of the value of those blessings which they have sacrificed for it." Wellhausen, indeed, acknowledges the objection from the language. But he argues: "Good and evil in Hebrew mean primarily nothing more than salutary and hurtful; the application of the words to virtue and sin is a secondary one, these being regarded as serviceable or hurtful in their effects. Good and evil as spoken of in Gen. ii. iii. point to no contrast of some actions with others according to their moral distinctions: the phrase is only a comprehensive one for things generally, according to the contradictory attributes which constitute their interests to man, as they help or injure him; for, as said, he desires to know not

what things are metaphysically, but what is the use of them."[1]

The objection from language can hardly, however, be so summarily dismissed. טוֹב וְרָע are certainly used in the non-moral sense of things pleasant and unpleasant for eating (in 2 Sam. xix. 36) and "things salutary and hurtful," fortunate and calamitous (in Jer. xlii. 6; Job xxx. 26). And "the knowledge of good and evil," which belongs in its highest form to the "angels of God," is specially said to consist in "knowing all things that are in the earth" (2 Sam. xiv. 20) with a view to doing "what is good in their eyes" (2 Sam. xix. 28). But in the same connection the ethical force of the words already appears. This "knowledge of good and evil" in a good king's heart means his "discerning decisively and impartially between right and wrong (2 Sam. xiv. 16 f.; cf. 1 Kings iii. 9). The ethical sense is also clear in such texts as Isa. v. 20; Amos v. 14 f.; and Mic. iii. 2. In the two passages most akin to Gen. ii. iii., where little children are represented as not yet able to distinguish between "good and evil," Deut. i. 39 has an unmistakable ethical reference, the reason for their being permitted to enter the land from which their fathers were debarred for their iniquities, being that "at the time they had no knowledge between good and evil," and therefore were no partners in the transgression. The ethical force of Isa. vii. 15 f. is probable, but not so certain. There is thus abundant evidence for the use of the terms in the ethical sense.

As Wellhausen has perceived, however, the decision must finally turn on the full sense of the context, and

[1] *Prol.*[3] pp. 314 ff. (Eng. tr. pp. 301 ff.). Cf. Smend, *A Tliche Religionsgeschichte*, pp. 120 f.; Marti, *Gesch. der Isr. Rel.* pp. 179 f.; etc.

J's general view of history. For the cruder version found in iii. 22, 24, his interpretation does seem the best. As we have already pointed out, the ethical motive is hardly apparent here. "The contest seems rather between man's presumption and Jahveh's jealousy for His honour." In this version, then, the "knowledge of good and evil" may well be "knowing all things that are in the earth," as in 2 Sam. xiv. 20, and the disobedience which brought suffering and death on man, in Wellhausen's words, "prying out the secret of things" which belonged to God and the angels (cf. 2 Sam. xiv. 16 ff.) alone. But this non- or semi-moral explanation altogether fails to do justice to the profoundly moral tone of the whole tenor of the main narrative in Gen. iii. As Budde has admirably expressed it, "it wants nothing but the word sin. But though the word is absent, sin itself is there, and comes clearly to light before the mind of every reader. Indeed, attention has often been justly drawn to the fact that all the mental steps in the development of sin, up to the actual deed and its consequences, with all their shameful, degrading, miserable, and humiliating effects, have been traced and described, in a few words, with a mastery perhaps never approached. There was no need, then, for the author to give his readers a definite headline. If he were to ask them what spiritual power it was that had passed before their eyes, I at least would consider but one answer possible: *viz.* "sin" (*Bibl. Urgesch.* pp. 70 f.).

J's general view of history is likewise dominated by ethical standards. He has, indeed, incorporated certain cruder incidents (apart from iii. 22, 24, vi. 1 ff., and xi. 5 ff.), in which Jahveh is represented as looking with

jealous eyes on man's presumption. But in its main trend, the course of man's history, according to the Jahvistic tradition, is judged and determined by moral ends. What is condemned is not advancing civilisation, but immoral conduct. The general steps in human progress are described (iv. 17, 20–22, ix. 20) without any moral reflection on man's "wickedness" or "presumption." Nor has the work of man any appearance of a "Sisyphus-labour." Progress in the arts and crafts of civilisation is indeed involved in the place which Jahveh assigns to man over against the lower animals (ii. 19 ff.), and in the congenial work He sets him to do in the garden (ii. 15). The actions which merit condemnation and punishment are such as Cain's murder of his brother Abel (iv. 2 ff.), the utter and irretrievable "wickedness of man upon the earth," which brought down the Flood to "wipe them out" (vi. 5 ff.), and the unspeakable crime of Canaan (ix. 22 ff.),—all deeds that outraged morality. And in the subsequent course of the history, from Abraham onwards, this moral outlook is still more pronounced.

We have no hesitation, therefore, in interpreting "good and evil" as "moral good and evil," and in finding in Gen. iii. a presentation of the first beginning of sin, as the moral crisis to which Hebrew tradition ascribes all the ills of mankind, including the last great indignity of death.

The narrative is cast in naïve, mythical form. But beneath the figures natural to such a presentation, we can distinguish the main ideas thus embodied. Man is a being with moral, as well as social and religious, capacities, which Jahveh seeks to educate and develop.

To this end a moral test is appointed him. The issues of good and evil, enforced by the Divine command not to touch the forbidden thing, are set before him. And the penalties of disobedience are distinctly laid down. It is true, there is a certain inconsistency in the representation. The alternatives appear as continuance in the state of child-like innocence (*i.e.* continued ignorance of moral distinctions) and disobedience, involving knowledge of both good and evil,—instead of (as we should define the issues) good and evil. But this is incidental to the mythical method. The authors of such traditions were not concerned to discuss metaphysical questions such as the possibility of a sinless development, but sought only to explain the facts of human life as they saw them. They were thus solely concerned with showing how man came to possess, as he did, the knowledge of both good and evil. It is thus, for all practical purposes, man's falling into evil, conceived from the religious standpoint as disobedience of God's command,—that is, as *sin*,—that is here described. And, as pointed out in Budde's fine exposition, the picture is drawn with a master-hand: the subtle temptation, the thought of the pleasantness of the forbidden good, the chafing of the spirit against the limitations God has seen fit to impose, the secret pleasure found in doing the wrong, the drawing of another into partnership in the evil thing, the sudden quickening of consciousness, the feeling of shame and guilt, the troubles of conscience, the fear and uneasiness in God's presence, the desire to be "hid" away from His face, and the childish attempt to pass over the blame to another. All this is a transcript from real experience. For such is the course of sin, not in Adam and Eve alone, but in all men.

With the same tragic power are set forth the penalties of sin: those woes and griefs that rouse such passionate questions in the soul—the hard travail of man's labour, his sorrows and infirmities, and at the end death. To the profound Hebrew spirit, these were the Divine "wages" for sin.

It is beside the point to argue that no further account is taken of the Fall story in the Old Testament, and that therefore it cannot serve as a basis for the Hebrew doctrine of sin. The myth was never intended to serve such a purpose. Myths are naïve explanations of the mysteries of life, as the people saw and felt them. This myth is the Hebrew explanation of sin and its resultant miseries, as that people realised them. Therefore, it reveals as in a mirror the Hebrew's consciousness of sin.[1] And, though the story is hardly even alluded to in the rest of the Old Testament, its underlying presuppositions and conceptions—of the terrible gravity of moral evil regarded as sin against God, its insidious workings within the heart, and its baleful consequences of shame and sorrow, reaching down to long distant generations—are found throughout that literature.

The story of the Fall only traces the development of the first sin. It does not explain the ultimate origin of sin. This is perhaps the leading motive in the parallel tradition in vi. 1 ff., as interpreted by J (cf. p. 13). "Because of their transgression, the spirit of God will not abide for ever in man; after an extreme limit of 120 years, it will pass from him, and his then inanimate

[1] Cf. Hegel's *dictum* that, though the story receives no further development in the O.T., "it constitutes an essential characteristic of the religious spirit among the Hebrews" (*Phil. der Rel.* ii. 66 f., Eng. tr. ii. 204).

flesh will die." Here, too, death is the "wages" of sin. But the origin of sin is carried up to the supernatural sphere,—an idea which found full elaboration in later Jewish and Christian theology.[1]

A simple writer like the Jahvist has no doctrine of "original sin" or "imputed guilt." But he has observed, like other thoughtful students of human life and history, how sin begets sin, and entails its miserable consequences on future generations. Thus the sin of Adam is followed by the more brutal and aggravated crime of Cain, who has also to pay the penalty, both himself and his posterity, in a miserable homeless life, that exposes him to unending sorrow and danger. The shameful lust of Canaan means sin and degradation for his descendants through all the generations. The same moral standpoint is occupied by J[2] and P, in whose story of the Flood the whole world, except Noah the righteous, is swept away for its wickedness. And in the subsequent course of all the documents alike, similar instances are found.

And yet the Hebrew view of life, with all its severity, is not pessimistic.[2] We might rather say that the very blackness of its idea of sin is evidence of its high hope and aspiration. A keen feeling of the awful evil of sin against God is the natural outcome of a lofty conception of God and of the great potentialities of human character. Thus the gloom which pervades Gen. iii. is the counter-

[1] Cf. Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, pp. 257 ff.; Jude, ver. 6; and the Dogmatic Systems of Christendom.

[2] Thus Wellhausen attributes to the Jahvist's presentation of early history "a peculiar sombre earnestness, almost bordering on pessimism, as if mankind were groaning under some dreadful weight, the pressure not so much of sin as of creaturehood" (*Prol.*[3] p. 329, Eng. tr. p. 314).

part of the light that had dawned upon the Hebrew spirit. And even that gloom is not unrelieved. The words of iii. 15, "they shall bruise thee on the head, and thou shalt bruise them on the heel," can hardly, indeed, be regarded as a prophecy of the final victory of Good. At the most, they imply only unceasing conflict between good and evil (cf. Exeg. Notes). But hope springs to life from the attitude of God to His sinful creatures. He punishes their transgressions. Yet He is full of pity for them. He does not immediately carry through the penalty of death upon Adam and his wife. And even while He sends them forth to their "hard travail," He mercifully covers their nakedness. In like manner, when He drives Cain out to the desert, He does not leave him helplessly exposed to the danger of death, but "sets His mark upon him," thus proclaiming Himself his Goel or Champion. The same mercy appears after the Flood. Jahveh will no more curse the ground for man's sake, but will strive to overcome their sins in other ways. The idea of forgiveness is not expressed in any one of these passages, but the essential element in forgiveness is implied, *viz.* God's continued interest in, and care for, man. In spite of sin, God befriends man, and seeks his good (cf. pp. 121 f.) Thus the course of history assumes the aspect of a Divine education of man, in which God calls and blesses certain men and their families, in order that in them "shall all the families of the earth be blessed" (Gen. xii. 3; etc.). The destinies of man being thus in God's hand, the final victory of good over evil is assured.

Men in other nations have been oppressed by the

burden of sin,[1] and its power to overcome the best knowledge and resolutions, and by the terrible train of evil consequences it drags behind it.[2] Their myths, too, have explained the sorrows of life by some act or acts of wilful defiance of the Powers above,[3] or by a lengthened course of moral deterioration.[4] But in no myth or tragedy of the ancient world have we so deep an insight into the character and the workings of sin, or so remorseless an analysis of its effects in feeling and conscience, and in alienation of the heart from God. Nor have we, apart from the Hebrew Scriptures, such hope rising from the darkness of sin and death as appears here in the thought of God's mercy tempering His justice.

Thus the old myth has an imperishable value. It gives us, indeed, no actual historical account of how sin entered the world. The beginnings of sin lie too far back for human memory to reach. Still less have we an explanation of the terrible mystery of sin's existence in the universe of God. But, however sin entered, it must have done so essentially as set forth in Gen. iii. For that chapter describes the genesis and development of sin in all men. At some point of his development, when he first awoke to full human consciousness, man was presented with the issues of good and evil, higher and lower; but instead of choosing the good and higher course which his conscience approved,

[1] Cf. "*Video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor*" (Ovid, *Meta.* vii. 20 f.).

[2] Cf. especially the great Greek tragedians.

[3] Cf. the legend of Prometheus and Pandora in Greek mythology (Hes., *Works and Days*, ll. 42 ff.; *Theog.* ll. 531 ff.), and the sin of Yima in Persian (Zend-Avesta, *Yasht*, xix. 33).

[4] Cf. the myths of the four, or five, ages of man, each worse than the last.

he followed the evil and lower promptings of his baser nature. Thus he was deflected from the steady path of righteousness.

To describe the Fall, as Hegel does, as a "Fall upward,"[1] is really to confuse ideas. The dawn of conscience is a step upward for the spirit. Thus, in the Hebrew myth, the presentation before man of the issues of good and evil was the first stage in his moral education. But when man disobeyed the voice of God, and chose the worse, he took a false step. And his whole course of moral progress henceforth became a crooked and sorrowful one.

But the grand value of the Hebrew myth lies in the hope that already glimmers through the darkness: the faith that God will not abandon His fallen creatures to themselves and their sins, but will still care for them, and seek their good. This thought of God's gracious pity and care links the myth with the Gospel of Christ The God who clothed the man and his wife and "set His mark" upon Cain, is the same God who "loved us, and sent His Son to be the propitiation for our sins" (John iv. 10).

[1] To Hegel the Fall represents "the advance out of the merely natural life, and the entrance of the consciousness of good and evil" (*Phil. der Rel.* ii. 65, Eng. tr. ii. 203). But the real Fall consisted in choosing the worse course, condemned of God, against the light of better knowledge.

CHAPTER VIII.

Historical Traditions of the Hebrews.

The ancestral home of the Semitic race, within the historical period at least, lies in the central plateaus of Arabia.[1] From that starting-point wave after wave of nomadic emigrants poured forth, as in later times under the impulse of Islam, overwhelming the lands to the north, and founding the Semitic kingdoms of Babylonia and Assyria, Canaan and Aram. There can be no doubt, therefore, that this was the original fatherland of the tribes which were afterwards united under the confederacy of Israel.

A distinct reminiscence of this Arabian stage is preserved in the older section of the Jahvistic narrative (cf. pp. 6 f.). We shall draw from this source when we deal with the primitive institutions of the Hebrew race But in themselves the traditions embodied in this "original nucleus" are not Israelite, but Kenite (cf. p. 74). In the peculiarly Israelite tradition we are pointed eastward for the origin of the people. In J "the land of Abram's nativity" is Haran, the famous metropolis of

[1] Several modern scholars, while recognising Arabia as the centre from which the Semites spread, find the cradle of the race in N. Africa. Cf. Brinton and Jastrow, *The Cradle of the Semites*; Barton, *Semitic Origins*, pp. 23 ff.; Nöldeke, *Die Semitischen Sprachen*[2], pp. 9 ff.

Mesopotamia (xii. 1). This is consistently recognised as the home of Abram's kindred. His servant is instructed to seek a wife for Isaac, not from the Canaanites among whom he dwelt, but from his "own country" and his "own kindred" (xxiv. 3 f.). Jacob also naturally flees thither for protection from Esau (xxvii. 43 ff.). His wives Leah and Rachel are of the same kin (ch. xxix.). In the Jahvistic tree in xxii. 20 ff., Aramæan tribes are enumerated as the nearest relatives of Abram's family. The names in the genealogical table in xi. 10 ff., which is ultimately based on J, also point to Aram (cf. Exeg. Notes). The same close connection with Aram is implied in E, who refers to the original dwelling-place of Abram and his father Terah as "beyond the River," *i.e.* evidently Mesopotamia (cf. Josh. xxiv. 2 f., 14 f.), and P, who explicitly defines the home of Laban as Paddan-Aram (xxv. 20, xxviii. 2 ff.). This tradition likewise underlies the Deuteronomic expression "a lost, or wandering, Aramæan was my father" (Deut. xxvi. 5).

According to the national lore of Israel, then, the "home of the fathers" was not directly the Arabian desert S. and S.E. of Palestine, but the fertile country of Mesopotamia, where they stood in close relation to Aramæan clans. This tradition cannot be lightly dismissed. The memory of racial movements is often long and faithfully preserved among ancient peoples (cf. pp. 89 f.). Moreover, the natural tendency for such peoples is to represent themselves as planted on their present soil from aboriginal times. When we find them deriving their descent from distant lands or peoples, the tradition may be reasonably held to embody substantial historical facts. The Israelites had no such motive as

Wellhausen alleges[1] for representing themselves as "an advance guard of the Aramæan movement." As the literary stereotyping of the tradition was contemporaneous with the life and death struggles between Israel and Aram, the tendency would rather be to disconnect themselves as far as possible from the hated race. The presumption, therefore, is strongly in favour of the historicity of the tradition.

But positive arguments also tend in the same direction.

1. The language of Israel (Hebrew), which the Punic inscriptions and the Canaanite words found on the Tel el-Amarna Tablets and the Egyptian monuments show to be a branch of the "tongue of Canaan," spoken by the Phœnicians and non-Israelite inhabitants of Palestine, stands at a considerable distance from the classical Aramaic. But the old Aramaic inscriptions of Zenjīrlī show a much closer connection.[2] This would indicate an original relationship between the two races. The force of this argument would naturally be broken, if it were the case, as is frequently assumed, that the Israelites derived their language, with other elements of their civilisation, from their Canaanite neighbours after the Conquest.[3] But not to press the evidence of earlier possible fragments of literature (cf. pp. 182 ff.), the "Song of Deborah," which is universally recognised as practically contemporaneous with the great battle, is composed in

[1] "*Sie that es um so lieber, da es eine Ehre war zu den mächtigen Aramæern zu gehören*" (*Gesch. Israels*, p. 8).

[2] Cf. *EB*, ii. col. 1988; Nöldeke, *Die Semitischen Sprachen*[2], pp. 32 f.

[3] The words which Cornill adduces to prove this (*Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, pp. 18 f.)—יָם, *sea* = West, נֶגֶב, *desert* = the South, לֶחֶם, Ar. *flesh* = bread, and בַּיִת and שַׁעַר, implying a settled mode of life—simply show that the language continued to enrich itself with new words and connotations after the settlement in Canaan, as a really living language cannot fail to do.

vigorous idiomatic Hebrew. This being so, the Israelites must have possessed their language *before* the first shock of conflict with the Canaanites. And even apart from historical evidence, the differences which appear between Hebrew and the Canaanite tongues are sufficient to mark it off as a "distinct dialect," combining with other indications "to favour the view that the descendants of Abraham brought their Hebrew idiom with them"[1] from their old home. The argument for early connection with Aram thus remains valid.

2. Within the circle of the Hebrew tribes we must include the three peoples connected with Israel, not only in patriarchal tradition, but also by common language, cognate religions and similar national organisation: *viz.* Edom, Moab, and Ammon. It seems difficult to account for the resemblances which linked the four peoples so closely together, while separating them as markedly from the neighbouring tribes (Midian, Amalek, etc.), save by the assumption of their own traditions that, since they left their desert home, they passed their *Wanderjahre* in common. And the name "Hebrew" itself appears to indicate the land of their wanderings. The most plausible explanation of עִבְרִי is still that of LXX (on Gen. xiv. 13), ὁ περάτης = *the crosser*, or Aquila, ὁ περαίτης = *the man from the other side*, viz. of the Jordan (Wellhausen), or more probably of the Euphrates (Guthe, Sayce, etc.). Even on the former supposition, the name would point us back to such a movement as that suggested by the patriarchal traditions, in which Israel, Edom, Moab and Ammon entered the land together, and thence separated to their respective settle-

[1] W. Robertson Smith, *EB*, ii. col. 1987.

ments, centuries before Israel's conquest of Palestine. On the other hand, the explanation "the man from beyond the Euphrates" tallies completely with the tradition.

The Hebrew tradition, however, brings the people from the still more distant East. This is most distinctly affirmed by the latest writer P, who traces the wanderings of Abram and his nephew Lot from Ur of the Chaldees, in all probability the modern Mugheir, on the west bank of the Euphrates, near the Persian Gulf (cf. xi. 31 with Exeg. Note). But an original connection with Babylonia is implied in various elements of the Jahvistic tradition as well. The story of Eden derives its rich colouring from the luxuriant verdure of the plain of Babylonia; and probably the influence of distant reminiscence is to be seen in this (cf. p. 64). The dispersion of the human race from Babel (xi. 1 ff.) is another suggestion of Israel's early wanderings in that region. If the name Arpachshad be connected with Babylonia (cf. Exeg. Note on x. 22), we have also the evidence of genealogy to show that the earliest tradition derived both the Hebrew peoples and their Aramæan kinsfolk from the neighbourhood of Babylon.

For the authenticity of this tradition, too, there are good positive arguments. The fatherland of the Semitic race being Arabia, the Hebrew tribes must somehow have passed from Arabia to Aram, either as the result of gradual pressure from the desert pasture grounds, or by a widespread nomadic movement along a more definite course. In either case, the tribesmen would naturally be led by such considerations as security from attack, and the need of water and pasture for their flocks, along the valleys watered by the rivers of the land, and therefore

through belts of pasture-land parallel to the roads which traversed these valleys. As the main road from Babylonia to the Mediterranean and Egypt passed through the Euphrates valley to Haran, and thence ran south by Hamath and Palestine, this route represents the most natural line of advance for emigrants from Arabia to Aram and thence to Palestine. And as Ur would be the first great city touched by such a wave of emigration, the tradition preserved by P, that Ur was the home of Terah and the starting-point of the Hebrew advance, is in harmony with all the probabilities.

The argument from language supports this conclusion too. The "tongue of Canaan," to which Hebrew is closely related (see *supra*), has affinities, not with the older Aramaic dialect alone, but even more closely with old Assyrian.[1] It is natural to assume, therefore, that the peoples who spoke these kindred languages are related also by common origin and historical connection. Another phase of this argument has recently come into prominence. In the historical records and contract-tables of the first Babylonian Dynasty, of which Ḫammurabi is the representative figure, occur names like Abd-ili, Shumu-abi, Ja'qub-ilu, Jashup-ilu, Ja'zar-ilu, which are evidently close cognates of Hebrew and Canaanite names. On this ground, Winckler and other Assyriologists have applied the name "Canaanite" to that dynasty, representing them as invaders from the Westland.[2] It has, however, been pointed out that these names have affinities

[1] Cf. McCurdy, *DB*, v. p. 87; Nöldeke, *Die Semitischen Sprachen*[2], pp. 47 ff.

[2] *KAT*[3], pp. 19 ff. Cf. Jeremias, *Das AT etc.*, pp. 1 ff.; Delitzsch, *Babel u. Bibel*, p. 45.

also with South Arabian names.[1] It seems the most reasonable explanation of all the phenomena, therefore, that the Babylonians of the Ḫammurabi Dynasty, the Canaanites, and the Hebrew tribes formed successive waves of a great tide of emigration, that flowed from some common source in the interior of Arabia towards the Euphrates, and thence along their own special channels. The former powerful dynasty drove out the Elamite conquerors of Babylonia, and founded the great Babylonian Empire, with Babylon as its capital. The tribes afterwards called "Canaanite," finding no room for their settlement in Babylonia, moved along the Euphrates valley to the fertile plains of Mesopotamia, and thence, pushed on perhaps by the pressure of the "Hebrew" peoples, to Canaan, where they ultimately settled, and whence they derived their name.[2] The Hebrews would naturally follow the same course. From the neighbourhood of Ur, where they first reached the Euphrates valley, they would move slowly forward to Mesopotamia, where they remained long enough to forget their earlier connection with the Canaanites, and to develop instead a tradition of kinship with the Aramæans, the next great wave of emigrants from Arabia. Thence in due course they too advanced to Palestine, deriving their name from the starting-point and direction of the onward movement.[3]

[1] Cf. Hommel, *Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, pp. 99 ff. ; Sayce, *Early History of the Hebrews*, p. 11 ; Cook, *The Laws of Moses and the Code of Ḫammurabi*, pp. 29 ff.

[2] In this connection should be noted the Phœnician traditions of their original migration from the neighbourhood of the Persian Gulf (Herod. i. 1, vii. 89).

[3] The name "Hebrew" is applied to the "children of Israel" only by, or in connection with, foreign peoples like the Egyptains and Philistines. It was evidently given them *ab extra*, in allusion to their origin.

The legends of Israel preserve the memory of various "Hebrew" movements from Aram to Palestine. The earliest is that associated with the great name of Abram, the common "father" of the tribes. There seems no real ground to question the authenticity of the name. As we have pointed out (p. 91), national traditions are often faithful repositories of the names and deeds of great heroes, whose personalities have impressed themselves on the popular imagination. The name Abram is neither that of a tribe, like Israel, Joseph, etc., nor of a god, like Asshur or Edom, but a real personal designation.[1] It seems reasonable to conclude, therefore, that he was the historical leader of the first Palestinian invasion of Hebrew tribes.[2] Traditions of subsequent movements to Palestine would seem to underlie the stories of Rebecca (ch. xxiv.) and Jacob-Israel (chs. xxxi. ff.), the latter probably relating to the immigration of the main body of the "children of Israel," partly along the roadway east of the Jordan, through Gilead and Mahanaim towards Seir, the mountain of Edom (xxxi. 22, xxxii. 2, xxxiii. 14), but partly also in the track of former movements, through the coasts of Tyre and Sidon, and southward by Shechem and Bethel to Hebron, in the Negeb of Judah (xxx. 18 ff., xxxv. 1 ff., xxxvii.). The leading figure in this migra-

[1] The name is found as that of the eponym for the year 677–76 B.C. in the Assyrian calendar. It was formerly supposed to figure also on a contract-table of the time of Apil-Sin, grandfather of Ḫammurabi; but modern scholars are inclined to read *Abi-erakh*, instead of *Abi-ramu* (cf. Clay, *Light on the O. T. from Babel*, p. 142, n. 1).

[2] To the present day the Arabs refer to the sheikh or chief as "father" of the tribe (cf. Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day*, pp. 57 ff.). The same idea prevails among the Indians (cf. Lyall, *Asiatic Studies*, i. 185 f.). There is ground for believing that "father" was originally substantially equivalent to "lord" (cf. W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*, pp. 140 ff.; Cook, *Laws of Moses*, etc. p. 12, n. 1).

tion is Jacob, who also bears a real personal name,[1] and has therefore an equal right to be regarded as an historical character.

Though only the first of these movements appears in the traditions of Israel as "Hebrew" in the wide sense, the invasion of Palestine by the allied tribes of Moab, Ammon, and Edom was probably as gradual as the immigration of the Bᵉne Israel. It is the general tendency of cycles of legend to crystallise round one conspicuous figure. The wanderings of the *eponymi* of Hebrew tribes associated with Abram and Jacob may thus really cover successive nomadic movements. And as the migration of Abram is of the nature of a pioneer advance, this seems most in accordance with historical probability.[2] The main invasion of the other Hebrew peoples would then most probably be assigned to the same epoch, and to the same general causes, as the immigration of Israel under Jacob.

The trend of these successive Hebrew movements is reflected in the traditions of Genesis. At the outset they appear to have advanced and acted in concert. Then Moab and Ammon branched off to settlements of their own, first in the fertile "Circle of Jordan" (xiii. 11 ff.), and ultimately in the mountainous regions E. of Jordan (xix. 30 ff.), whence they came to harass their "brethren" of Israel when struggling to secure their "inheritance." Edom struck south, founding a vigorous kingdom in the region of Mt. Seir (xxxii. 3,

[1] Cf. the *Ja'qub-ilu* of the Ḫammurabi contract-tables (p. 173).

[2] In the same way, the general invasion of the Hyksos tribes which raised them to the lordship of Egypt was preceded by a number of smaller incursions of princes and clans of the desert (cf. Flinders Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, pp. 69 ff.).

xxxvi. 8 ff.; etc.). Meanwhile the B^{e}ne Israel continued their nomadic life in the pasture-grounds between Hebron and Beer-sheba, in the Negeb of Judah (xxii. 19, xxviii. 10; etc.), though a stray portion of the people appears to have remained behind to establish a foothold in the N. of Palestine (cf. pp. 186 ff.).

On the basis of ch. xiv., the Amraphel of that chapter being identified with Ḫammurabi, a number of recent scholars have made the first of these migratory movements contemporaneous with the reign of that monarch (*c.* 2250 B.C.). The identification is plausible.[1] But even thus, the historical character of the chapter is too uncertain for our drawing thence any reliable conclusion as to the actual association of Abram and Ḫammurabi. For the former a much later date seems necessary.[2] Even according to the artificial chronological scheme of P, the whole course of the migrations is embraced within a period of some 200 years. And probably the date of Abram should be placed considerably nearer the general movement under Jacob.[3] For the latter an approximate date may possibly be reached. According to the earliest narratives J and E, the settlement in Egypt lasted (roundly) three generations, or about 100 years (cf. the various data in Gen. l. 22 ff.;

[1] In Aramaic, א takes the place of ע, which is the usual equivalent of the Babylonian Ḫ (cf. p. 180). The identification *Amraphel* = *Ḫammurabi-el* is still, however, challenged by influential scholars (cf. Johns, "The Name Jehovah in the Abrahamic Age," *Expos.*, Sixth Series, vol. viii. pp. 282 ff.).

[2] On the basis of his recently discovered *Chronicles*, Mr. L. W. King now brings the date of Ḫammurabi down to *c.* 1900 B.C. (cf. *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, i. pp. 136 ff.). This relieves the difficulty of date to some extent. But until further light is shed on the question, it seems best to suspend judgment.

[3] The raids which preceded the general onset of the Hyksos tribes, *e.g.*, extended over a period of some 100 years (Petrie, *loc. cit.*).

Ex. i. 6 ff.). Allowing fifty years for nomadic wanderings in Canaan and Egypt, and accepting for the Exodus the most generally assigned date *c.* 1250 B.C., we arrive at the probable date 1400 B.C. for the general Hebrew immigration. With this date would accord the relations between Israel and the Aramæans suggested in ch. xxxi. The Aramæans appear for the first time in historical literature as the nomad people Achlami in the Tel el-Amarna Tablet No. 291, and subsequently under that designation and the later forms Arimi, Arumu, etc., in the Assyrian records from the middle of the 14th cent. onwards. Their appearance in the region of Mesopotamia must then date from about the middle of the 15th cent., perhaps as the result of the movement within Arabia which created the important Minæan kingdom.[1] The pressure of this new wave of emigration from Arabia may well have been the secular impulse which led to the general Hebrew movement towards Palestine.[2]

We may thus avail ourselves of evidence from a different source. In the famous Tel el-Amarna letters (*c.* 1400 B.C.) we meet with innumerable complaints from Egyptian governors of Palestine regarding encroachments of foreign invaders, often in the pay of rebellious governors, who sought to carve out parts of the kingdom

[1] Cf. Šanda, *Die Aramaer* (Der Alte Orient, iv. 3), pp. 4 ff.

[2] The supposed existence of the place-names *Joseph-el* and *Jacob-el* on the list of Palestinian conquests of Thutmosis III. (*c.* 1503–1449 B.C.) affords no real evidence for an earlier settlement of the tribes of Israel in Palestine. Even were the readings certain (to the contrary effect, cf. Flinders Petrie, *History of Egypt*, ii. 327 ff.; Spiegelberg, *Aegyptologische Randglossen zum AT.* p. 13, n. 2), they appear as the names, not of tribes, but of towns, the former evidently in the group round Migdal (Migdol), the latter in the circuit of Gezer.

for themselves. Of these invaders, we find frequent mention of SA-GAS (an ideogram for "plunderers" or "robbers"), who were specially active in "plundering" and capturing towns and villages round Zimyra, Gebal, Tyre and Zidon (cf. Letters 54–70, 144–154, *passim*), in the plain of Megiddo (Nos. 192–193), the territories of Aijalon, Zorah, Zaphon, and Gezer in the Shephelah (Nos. 173–174, 204–206), the districts round Ashkelon, Gaza, and Joppa in the Maritime Plain of Philistia (Nos. 207–213), as well as other places unnamed. In two instances (144, 24 ff.; 216, 8 ff.) these SA-GAS are represented as the allies of the Suti, a nomad people of the Syrian desert, known to us from the Assyrian records. They are evidently, likewise, nomadic bands. The letters of Abd-hiba of Jerusalem (179–185) are also full of pathetic appeals for help against *amelu* Ḫabiri (the Ḫabiri people), who "have devastated all the king's territory" (179, 55 ff.), and will soon be masters of the whole country, unless help comes (181, 50 ff.). The similarity of the pictures drawn in the different letters, and the fact of SA-GAS being but a general name, suggest that the Ḫabiri are the people meant by all the correspondents. Indeed, a comparison of Abd-hiba's letter 185, 9 ff. (where a governor Lapaia is reported to be in treacherous alliance with the Ḫabiri) with a letter from Lapaia himself (163, 30 ff.), in which he makes his report to the king of Egypt about the movements of the SA-GAS and their allies, makes the identification certain. We have thus to deal with "plundering" raids and "devastations" of a nomadic people, the Ḫabiri, sometimes acting in concert with another Bedouin race, the Suti, practically all over the

land of Palestine, from Zimyra and Gebal in the North of Phœnicia to the Shephelah and the Maritime Plain of Philistia and the country and Negeb of Judah in the South. From Abd-hiba's letter 182, 26 ff. it appears that their conquests extended still farther South, embracing "the region of Sheri (Seir) as far as Ginti-kirmil (doubtless the Carmel of Josh. xv. 55; 1 Sam. xv. 12; etc.,—a few miles S.E. of Hebron)," *i.e.* the Negeb of Judah and the "land of Edom."

The similarity between Ḫabiri and עִבְרִים was first pointed out by Zimmern, and the identification of the two has been largely accepted since. Indeed, no other probable explanation has been offered. Sayce's translation "Confederates"[1] is too general. The prefix *amelu* explicitly points to Ḫabiri as the name of a people, not of a vague confederacy. The Ḫabiri, further, were nomadic bands, like the Hebrews under Abram and Jacob. The names, too, are close cognates. The Babyl. Ḫ = ע is found in such words as Ḫa-za-at-ai = עַזָּה (Gaza) and Ḫu-um-ri-i = עָמְרִי (Omri), while the interchange of *a* and *i* is found also in Ḫa-at-ti = חִתִּים (Amarna Letters, 16, etc.). The Ḫabiri, therefore, "are either the Hebrews—and till the contrary is proved, this remains the most probable hypothesis—or another people, of which nothing else is known."[2]

But to what particular historical movement do the Ḫabiri encroachments relate? In the opinion of several recent scholars, we have in the Tel el-Amarna Letters the record from the Canaanite side of the Israelite

[1] *ET*, xi. p. 377; cf. *Early History of the Hebrews*, p. 4.

[2] Nöldeke, *ZA*, 1904, p. 96. Hommel derives the name from "a hypothetical Khaber" (*Anc. Heb. Tradition*, p. 232).

conquest of Palestine under Joshua.[1] But to this view there seem to be insuperable objections. The date of the Exodus is, for one thing, thrown back to a date that accords neither with the earlier Hebrew tradition nor with the movements of world history. But, still more serious, the nature and extent of the two movements are entirely different. In the Amarna Letters we have not a deliberate conquest of the land described, but rather marauding attacks and "devastations." The enemy, further, is not the Canaanite population of the land, as in the conquest narrated in Joshua, but the legates and viceroys of the king of Egypt, whose authority the Ḫabiri and their allies are attempting to overthrow. Further, the course and extension of the two movements are irreconcilable. The conquest under Joshua extended neither to the northern bounds of Phœnicia, nor to the Maritime Plain in the East, nor to the region of Edom in the South. On the other hand, these different arguments would point to an identification of the Ḫabiri movement with the general Hebrew immigration from the East, as suggested in the traditions of Genesis. As we have argued above, the dates would harmonise. The nature and course of the movement, in the two distinct representations, are substantially the same. In the Tel el-Amarna Letters and the narratives of Genesis alike, we have unrolled before us, not the forward marches in a war of conquest, but the onward sweep of a nomadic movement, chiefly in a

[1] Cf. Lukyn Williams, *DB*, ii. pp. 326 f., where the identification is considered and dismissed. Other scholars regard the Ḫabiri as the vanguard of the Israelite invasion, which they date *c.* 1450 B.C. (cf. Orr, *Problem of the O.T.* p. 424).

belt parallel to the main road from Mesopotamia through Palestine, by the Phœnician coast, through the Plain of Esdraelon, past Megiddo, to Mount Ephraim and the Negeb of Judah, and thence bifurcating to the Shephelah and Philistia on the one side, and the district of Seir on the other, though the traditions of Genesis preserve also the memory of a corresponding movement E. of the Jordan (cf. p. 175). With Ḫabiri movements in the Philistine coast we may compare Abram's quarrels with Abimelech of Gerar (xxi. 22 ff.), and his, or Isaac's, relation to the same monarch in the matter of the "sister-wife" (xx. E, xxvi. J). The Ḫabiri conquests in the region of Seir are a still closer parallel to the settlement of Edom there (xxxvi. 8 ff.).[1]

We are disposed to find a reflection of the same movement in the short tribal poem in Gen. ix. 25–27. Here Shem (בְּנֵי שֵׁם, probably a title of honour, "the sons of renown") is clearly Israel, the people of Jahveh (cf. ver. 26), and Canaan as clearly the *heros eponymus* of the Canaanite peoples. The poem thus reflects the high national consciousness of Israel over against the "servile" Canaanites. It is usually dated in the period of the early monarchy, when Solomon finally reduced the Canaanite peoples to subjection, and made

[1] It is no real argument against this hypothesis, that the earlier Hebrew movement appears in Israelite tradition as a peaceful migration of representative individuals, overruled by Divine guidance. A movement of Semitic tribes such as we have sketched would necessarily have its religious side. And in the traditions of a religious people like Israel, this aspect would naturally be emphasised and developed. As we have shown (pp. 91 f.), national legends reflect the peculiar genius of the nation, and their heroes become more and more typical representatives of the national character. In these old traditions of Israel the warlike hues have faded away, and Abram and Jacob stand out as perennial types of Jewish faith and character.

them his "bondmen" (1 Kings ix. 20 f.).[1] It is difficult, however, to understand how a poem of that date could still look upon the Canaanites as "brethren" (ver. 25). The tendency at that period was rather to obliterate all trace of their kinship. In both the genealogical trees in ch. x., for example, the Canaanites are excluded from the circle of Semitic races, though they actually belonged to it. Further, the poem shows signs of a much earlier date. It is enclosed in a framework of legendary tradition, which reflects the horror with which the healthy moral instincts of the fresh young nation of Israel viewed the shameful immoralities of the Canaanites (cf. the similar traditions in ch. xix. and Judg. xix. xx.). The tradition would thus run back to the earlier days of the settlement in Palestine, and the poem to a still older date. For a period when the term "brother" could be applied to Canaan, indeed, we must go beyond the Exodus and the wars between Israel and Canaan that followed it. In this respect, no time seems so suitable as the Amarna epoch, when Israel and Canaan fought side by side against their Egyptian overlords.[2] The mention of the "tents" (vv. 26 f.) also agrees best with this nomadic period.[3] This

[1] Cf. Budde, *Bibl. Urgesch.* pp. 315 ff.

[2] Suggestions of original "brotherly" relations, soon to be followed by estrangement and enmity, between Israel and their Canaanite neighbours, may be found in Gen. xxxiv. 8 ff., xxxviii. 2 ff.

[3] Our view of the ancient date and occasion of the poem will naturally be met by the *Machtspruch* of Winckler, endorsed by Cheyne (*Traditions and Beliefs*, p. 110), that "no people on earth has poetical echoes of its nomadic period." But we have already found an echo of nomadic days in the battle-song of Lamech. And if so highly finished a poem as the triumphal Song of Deborah has been handed down from the age of the Conquest, it is not so impossible to believe that a simple folk-song like this, struck out in the heat of a great national movement, has been transmitted

reference of the poem to the original Hebrew immigration from the last suggests a good historical explanation of the Curse (ver. 25). The general impression left in our minds by the perusal of the Amarna Letters is that the people of Canaan themselves showed little interest in the attacks on the Egyptian supremacy. Even the leaders who sought to carve out kingdoms for themselves seem to have left the brunt of the fighting to the Ḫabiri, Suti, and Ḫatti. The "Curse" may thus be the expression of wrathful contempt against the craven peoples who were content to remain in subjection, to be compared with the curse of Meroz in the Song of Deborah (Judg. v. 23) and the curse which Saul pronounced on those whose slackness should lead them to turn aside from the battle to eat food (1 Sam. xiv. 24). And the actual content of the Curse—"an abject slave let him be to his brethren"—is singularly appropriate to such an occasion.

This reading of the poem seems also to secure the most fitting explanation of Japheth. This word is also most probably a title of honour (יָפָה, *to be beautiful*, hence בְּנֵי יֶפֶת = "the sons of beauty, or glory"). From the context, the name is evidently used of a close neighbour of Israel and Canaan. Ver. 27 further shows Japheth, like Canaan, to be the worshipper of another god than Jahveh. We have then to look for a third people to Israel and Canaan, occupying the same land, but worshippers of a different god. On the basis of the

during a period of two more centuries. Poetic composition admittedly belongs to the hoariest antiquity. The Song of Deborah bears witness to the early popularity of the art in Israel. And though the great mass of ancient folk-songs have perished, a few have certainly been preserved. Among these, songs of battle and victory naturally occupy a large place.

supposed date in the early monarchy, Wellhausen (*Comp.* p. 15) identifies Japheth with the Philistines. But as Budde has urged (*Bibl. Urg.* p. 338), these deadly enemies of Israel would have been the last to receive from them the Blessing of ver. 27. He suggests the Phœnicians, and points to the friendship of the two peoples in the reign of Solomon, and to the commercial relations that existed between them, explaining the "dwelling in the tents" to mean freedom of commercial intercourse (*ibid.* pp. 338 ff., 354 ff.). But the phrase implies a much more intimate relationship (cf. Exeg. Notes). We have rather to think of peoples bound by common interests and enterprises, such as alliance in warfare, the great uniting as well as estranging influence in the life of early nations. Japheth may thus most naturally be looked for in the circle of the Hebrews' associates during the Amarna warfare. Of the names the Letters yield, the Suti would afford a suitable identification. But the appearance of Heth as the second "son" of Canaan on the Jahvistic Table (x. 15), as well as the tradition embodied in Ezek. xvi. 3 of the original connection of Jerusalem with the Hittities, would point rather to the Ḫatti (Hittites), who likewise played a resolute part in the attack on Egyptian supremacy in the North of Palestine (cf. Letters 16, 45–47, 104, 131 ff.).[1]

This first invasion of the Hebrews, as we have seen, was not a war of conquest, but a nomadic movement Southward. The Israelitic tradition carries it on to Goshen, an alluvial district on the border of Egypt. Historical probability is all in favour of the authenticity

[1] Gunkel also suggests the Hittites (cf. *Hand-K.* p. 76). On Hittite movements in and around Palestine, cf. Exeg. Note on x. 15.

of the tradition. The Egyptian records show several such immigrations of Semitic nomads. Apart from the famous invasion of the Hyksos, who established a Semitic dynasty in Egypt, we have such official notices as the report of an Egyptian governor of the reign of Ḥaremḥeb (*c.* 1360 B.C.) regarding the measures he had taken to confine a body of Semitic nomads within their proper territory, and the still more elaborate report of the officers of Sethos II. (*c.* 1250) regarding the permission granted by them to certain "Bedouin tribes of Edom" to pass the fortress of Merenptah at Succoth to the "wells of Merenptah," "to find food for themselves and their cattle on the great pasture-land of Pharaoh, the fair sun of all lands."[1] From the leading part that Joseph plays in the tradition, Wellhausen and other scholars[2] have conjectured that only the Joseph tribe entered Goshen. But the tradition clearly implies that his "brethren" followed him at a later date (chs. xlv. ff.). And the Exodus from Egypt is so deeply imprinted on the traditions of both N. and S. Israel, as the real birth of the nation, that we must hold that the people as a whole was embraced in the great movement. This involves that, while the confederate tribes of Moab, Ammon, and Edom branched off, the main body that comprised the people of Israel continued their nomadic movement South to Goshen.

It is not impossible, however, that fragments of the main body were left behind in the onward march. This

[1] Cf. Spiegelberg, *Der Aufenthalt Israels in Aegypten*, p. 24; Flinders Petrie, *History of Egypt*, iii. p. 115.

[2] Cf. Well., *Gesch.* pp. 16 f. Guthe identifies the Israel of this period with Joseph (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, pp. 22 f.).

seems, indeed, the most plausible explanation of the mention of the name Israel on the Triumphal Stele of Merenptah (*c.* 1250). On this monument the king proudly records that, as the result of his invasion of Canaan and the Hittite land,

> "Canaan is seized with every evil,
> Led away is Ashkelon, taken is Gezer,
> Ynuāman (Jenoam) is brought to nought,
> The people of Israel is laid waste—their crops are not,
> Kharu (Palestine) has become as a widow by Egypt."

Here it is evidently implied that a "people of Israel" is settled in Palestine, probably in the neighbourhood of Jenoam, under the southern slopes of Lebanon, about the date when Israel made the Exodus from Egypt, and therefore before they had conquered Palestine, and especially the Northward parts of the land. The probable explanation is that a section of the Israelite Ḫabiri, whom we have found warring in the neighbourhood of Tyre and Zidon, formed a settlement for themselves there,[1] afterwards joining the main kingdom of Israel as the tribe of Asher. Even apart from the evidence of Merenptah's Stele, there is ground for connecting Asher with the

[1] This is the view adopted, among others, by Dr. Flinders Petrie, the discoverer of the Stele. "The only likely conclusion is that there were others of the tribe left behind, or immediately returning, at the time of the famine; and that these kept up the family traditions about sites which were known in later times" (*History of Egypt*, iii. p. 114). Spiegelberg has a much more complex theory, that the "Israel" of later days is a blend of two stems, the "Jacob-tribes," a mixture of Arab nomads who settled in Goshen, and afterwards under Moses made the Exodus from Egypt, and the "Israel-tribes," a section of the Ḫabiri (Hebrews) who settled down in Palestine, and allied themselves with the "Jacob-tribes" in their warfare against the Canaanites (*Der Aufenthalt, u.s.w.* pp. 13 ff.). Such a theory, however, fails to account for the common *esprit* and common traditions of the united nation.

"once somewhat important State called *Aseru*, *As(s)aru*, which occupied W. Galilee in the time of Seti I. and Ramses II."[1] And this connection could be best explained if the *Aseru* were really a Ḫabiri settlement in one of the scenes of their hottest conflicts.[2]

The subsequent movements of Israel, both during their residence in Goshen and in the course of their wanderings through the desert, brought them into various relations of friendship and hostility with the surrounding Arab tribes. Of these, the closest ties were formed with the Kenites, a nomad tribe related to Midian (cf. Ex. iii. 1) and Amalek (cf. 1 Sam. xv. 6), which not only gave Moses his wife, but also took part in the conquest of Canaan (Judg. i. 16). We have elsewhere dealt with the supposed Kenite origin of the Jahveh-religion (cf. pp. 106 ff.). There seems little doubt, however, that the Kenites carried part at least of their old desert traditions into the common stock of Israelite legend. Of the names incorporated in the old genealogy in ch. iv., the original ancestor *Cain* appears as the personification of the Kenite tribe, and *Enoch*, *Irad*, and *Mahalalel* are connected with place- or clan-names in the region of the Kenite settlements in Judah (cf. Exeg. Notes). In the original nucleus of J, therefore, we have the distinctively Kenite tradition, in which the *heros eponymus* of the tribe appears as the eldest son of the first man, and then as the "father" of the various branches, settlements, guilds, and crafts of the tribe).[3]

[1] *EB*, i. 327 f. [2] On other explanations, cf. *EB*, *l.c.*

[3] In the same way, Hellen, the *heros eponymus* of the Hellenic people, is the eldest son of Deucalion, son of the Titan Prometheus, and the three leading tribes of the Germans are sons of Mannus (*Mann*), the son of the god Tuisto

Though settling with the people of Israel, the Kenites seemed to have preserved their own tribal distinction. Thus, even when they penetrated far to the North of Israel, they maintained their Bedouin "tent" ways (cf. Judg. iv. 11, 17 ff., v. 24). And to the latest period of the kingdom, the Rechabites, a branch of the Kenites (1 Chron. ii. 55—no doubt an old and good tradition embodied in Chron.), kept up the same habit, dwelling in tents, abstaining from wine, and scorning the pursuits and luxuries of city life and agriculture alike (cf. Jer. xxxv. 1–10). Even the settlement in Israel appears to have been but partial. In later days the main body of the Kenites are found as a separate nomadic tribe, roving over the districts S. of Judah, on the borderland between Israel and Amalek (1 Sam. xv. 16, xxvii. 8 ff.), for the most part in friendly relations with Israel, yet at times showing marks of hostility sufficient to class them among their enemies (cf. Num. xxiv. 21 f.).[1] Thus to the present day the Bedouins live in general relations of peace with their more settled neighbours, exacting only the "debt of brotherhood" from the villagers and shepherds they protect from harm (cf. 1 Sam. xxv. 6 ff.); but every now and again the Bedouin instinct asserts itself, and they give way to robbery, plunder, and bloodshed.[2]

This relation of general friendship, marred by occasional

(cf. Tacitus, *Germania*, ch. ii.). On the place assigned to the tribal guilds and crafts in the genealogical tree, cf. Sanchuniathon's line of Phœnician ancestors referred to on p. 47, n. 2.

[1] This oracle of Balaam is, no doubt, usually regarded as very late, and the name אשור applied to the Nabatæans, or some other Arab tribe that harassed the Jews in their weakness (cf. Holz. and Baentsch, *Comms. s.l.*). But the very use of the name *Ken* to denote the enemies of Israel presupposes a tradition that the Kenites were not always peaceful neighbours and friends.

[2] Cf. Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, i. 276, ii. 8, 196, 219, etc.

acts of plunder and bloodshed on the part of the Kenite Bedouin, yields the most plausible explanation of the story of Cain and Abel (ii. 2 ff.). In its present literary cast a profound tragedy of sin and retribution, this story is an unmistakable piece of tribal legend, to be compared with the legends of Moab and Ammon (xix. 30 ff.) and Edom (xxv. 22 ff.). The local colouring and viewpoint are Palestinian; but the connection of the story with the older desert tradition (vv. 1, 17 ff.) shows that the Cain of this section likewise is the *heros eponymus* of the Kenite tribe. The name Abel being most probably a form of Jabal, the *eponymus* of the shepherds (cf. Exeg. Notes), the legend reflects the relation of the two from the standpoint of the latter,—this relation being traced back, in the characteristic style of legendary narratives, to the acts of the eponymous ancestors of the people. Abel is the type of the peaceful shepherd, who pursues his calling in calm reliance on the friendship of his "brother." Cain is the Bedouin Kenite, who, in a moment of jealousy and anger, forgets the sacred obligations of "brotherhood," and rises against his brother, and slays him. And the miserable life which the Kenites live in the desert is explained as the direct result of the crime.[1]

[1] In the above discussion, we have followed in the lines of Stade, *ZATW*, 1894, pp. 250 ff. The objections raised, especially by Davidson (*ET*, x. p. 66) and Nöldeke (*EB*, i. col. 130), appear not to affect the heart of the position. These objections are: (1) that Cain is represented as originally a "tiller of the ground"—not a nomad; (2) that the Kenites were not such marauding neighbours of Israel as the legend would represent, but, on the contrary, held in high repute among the Israelites; (3) that, if the "sign of Cain" was really the Jahveh tattoo-mark (cf. p. 211), Cain could not be represented as saying that "he was driven out from the presence of Jahveh." But (1) each class of society among primitive peoples is inclined to look upon its own mode of life as original, and the other callings as steps downward. As matter of fact, there was constant ebb and flow between the desert and

From the name קין (see Exeg. Notes), Sayce regards the Kenites as a "Smith" tribe.[1] But the Bedouin pride and mode of life of the Kenites seem proof conclusive against this idea. The "Smiths" were a wandering caste, that visited many different tribes in pursuit of their art, but were held in contempt by the lordly Bedouin of the battle and the chase (cf. pp. 197 f.). But the Kenites were no such wandering caste. They had their own domain for pasture and forays. And they had the true Bedouin lust for battle and blood. The legend shows them to be not "workers in bronze and iron," at the beck and call of others, but independent tribesmen, that wielded the sword and spear in their own cause. And if "Cain shall be avenged sevenfold" be originally a tribal cry, as its collocation with "Lamech shall be avenged seventy and seven fold" would imply, Kenites would appear to be one of the lordliest and most proudly defiant of the Arab tribes. If, moreover, as Ewald and Nöldeke hold,[2] the Kenites can be traced down to the *Benil Kain* or *Banu Kain* of later days, their "Smith" character would be still further disproved,

the more cultivated oasis-land, nomads settling down to agricultural life, and settled peasants and shepherds falling back into Bedouin nomadism (cf. Weber, *Arabien vor dem Islam*, pp. 4 ff.; Doughty, *op. cit.* i. 234). It was natural for the settled population, therefore, to regard the restless nomad life as a descent from the more easy and comfortable Palestinan life—and therefore a punishment for their sins. (2) The actual relations between Israel and the Kenites were not so uniformly friendly, but rather those of the agricultural people to the Bedouin "brother," as set forth in p. 189. (3) To primitive minds in Israel, Jahveh was naturally regarded as far away from the desert. It was only gradually that His sway was extended thither, as it was in due course made to embrace the whole world (cf. pp. 101 f.). The placing of the "mark" on Cain was a signal token of the Divine grace.

[1] *ET*, x. 352 f. Cf. Holz., *Kurzer H.-C.* p. 50; Gunkel, *Hand-K.* p. 44.

[2] *EB*, i. col. 130.

these later Kenites being true Bedouins in sentiment and habit.

With various other Arab tribes the people of Israel felt themselves to be related by ties of kinship, not so nearly indeed as with their "brethren" of Cain, or their "cousins" of Moab and Ammon, yet closely enough to be reckoned members of the same family. This relation is expressed in the various genealogies of Genesis. The earliest of these is found in xxv. 1–4 (a somewhat later section of J, which, however, incorporates an old tradition), and reckons such tribes as Zimran, Midian, Sheba, Dedan, etc., to the stock of Abraham—only by an Arab wife, Keturah. A parallel genealogy, found in P (xxv. 12–17), makes a number of other Arab tribes, Nebaioth, Kedar, Abdeel, etc., "sons of Ishmael," the son of Abraham by the Egyptian handmaid, Hagar. In this way the national sentiment of Israel separated their Arabian neighbours from the pure "Hebrew" stock.

With the establishment of the kingdom, the people of Israel entered a larger world. Especially after the encroachments of Assyria, their horizon was steadily enlarged. As we have already argued, the Hebrews carried with them in their early migrations dim memories of Babylonia and its luxuriant plains, while other elements of Eastern tradition, such as the legend of Adapa and the story of Babel and its unfinished tower, came to them through various channels. But the direct contact with Assyria, which followed the alliance between Ahaz and Tiglath-Pileser, brought a stream of new knowledge to Israel: the geographical details which are inserted in the picture of Eden (ii. 10–14), the legend of Nimrod and his buildings (x. 8–12), and the story of the Flood

(vi.–ix.).[1] And the Babylonian exile still further increased the volume.

This larger world is mapped out in the two genealogical tables incorporated in ch. x. Of these, the table of J^2 is incomplete, giving only Shem and part of Ham. On the other hand, that of P appears to be preserved in full. In these "maps," then, we can trace the relationships of the various peoples and nations of the earth, as

[1] The original Babylonian Flood story is often treated as purely mythical, spun out of light (Usener, *Die Sintflutsagen*, pp. 185 ff.), moon (Böklen, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, vi. pp. 5 ff.), astral (Jensen, *Gilgamesh Epos in der Weltgeschichte*, i. *passim*), or other motives. There is certainly a large mythical element in the tale (*e.g.* the actions of the different gods). But the personal and local names (Ut-napishtim, Shurippak, Nizir), and the nautical descriptions and details, would argue for a certain basis in fact. There seems no real reason to doubt that the story has grown up around the tradition of some great inundation, perhaps accompanied by a cyclonic storm, that overwhelmed the city of Shurippak (cf. Ed. Süss, *Das Antlitz der Erde*, i. 25 ff. *ap.* Andree, *Die Flutsagen*, pp. 11 ff.), only a few persons escaping on an ark resembling the pitch-covered barges still seen in use on the Euphrates (cf. Lady Anne Blunt, *Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates*, i. 166). In an alluvial land like Babylonia, such catastrophes were only too liable to occur. Thus Strabo tells of a great rising of the sea in Egypt, near Pelusium, in his own day, which overflowed the land, "and converted Mt. Casius into an island, so that a journey from Casius into Phœnicia might have been undertaken by water" (I. iii. 17). Andree quotes records of many similar destructive catastrophes in more recent times (*op. cit.* pp. 143 ff.). Of the other traditions, the story of the tower of Babel relates to the building of that capital. The story, however, is that of an enemy, who sought to pour contempt on the sovereign city. The legend, no doubt, found its basis in the actual leaving unfinished of the tower, either of Babylon itself (the famous temple of Marduk), or of the suburb of Borsippa (the tower of Nebo, with its imposing ruins), according to Jewish tradition. In regard to the latter edifice, Nebuchadnezzar in fact mentions that, though built by a former king, its "head" had not been put on, and the tower itself had fallen into disrepair, until he rebuilt it (*KB*, III. ii. 53 ff.). Some such failure to complete the tower would readily have given rise to a story like xi. 1 ff. The legend also reflects the mixture of nations, and the constant migrations and movements, which took place at or around Babylon. The story of Nimrod has had as yet no light shed on it from the monuments. But it traces quite accurately the Babylonian origin of the Assyrian Empire and civilisation. Here again we have tradition based on real historical facts and movements.

they were recognised by the Jewish consciousness at the two different epochs.

In the table of J^2 we still find the Arab tribes—twelve of whom are enumerated, though only Sheba is common to this list and the earlier "tree" in xxv. 1–4—related to Israel, not, however, as sons of Abraham by a different wife, but as scions of another branch of the "Hebrew" race. These tribes are, therefore, regarded as more distant "cousins" of Israel than the older tree indicated. At the same time, we see how the mind of Israel was enlarged to receive its relatives also into the circle of "sons of Shem," a title originally restricted to Israel, the people of Jahveh, (ix. 26). The connotation of the other two terms, Japheth and Canaan, is correspondingly enlarged. Unfortunately, the list of "sons of Japheth" in J^2 is completely lost. Probably, as in P, it contained the names of peoples N. and W. of Palestine. From the fragments of the "Ham" table, however, we can trace how the people of Israel outgrew their consciousness of relation with the peoples of Canaan. In the old tribal tradition and song (ix. 22 ff.), Canaan is still regarded as the "brother" of Shem and Japheth. In both the tables of ch. x., however, he is excluded from all family connection with the "children of Israel" and their Arab relatives, and classed with Egypt under the native name for the latter country. To Ham seems also to be reckoned, in this table at least (x. 8 ff.), the Assyro-Babylonian race, with which Israel had again come into political connection. That "family" would thus embrace the peoples most alien to Israel, either in national sentiment (Canaan, Egypt), or by reason of distance (Assyria, Babylonia). As an ethnographical chart, therefore, the

table is only approximately correct, the peoples of Canaan and Phœnicia as well as Assyria and Babylonia being Semites, not "Hamites" (cf. Exeg. Notes).

The table in P carries us over a much larger world. But this table adheres as little to definite ethnographical relations. Assyria and Babylonia are here, no doubt, received within the Semitic "world." But the Arab tribes—including two of the former "sons of Joktan," *viz.* Havilah and Sheba—are excluded, being classed instead under Ham, as "sons of Cush," while two non-Semitic nations, Elam and Lud, are placed among the "sons of Shem." The nations are classed rather according to their geographical, and to some extent also political, relations, Japheth embracing in the main the peoples N. and W. of Palestine, Ham the non-Israelite inhabitants of Canaan and the peoples to the South, and Shem those to the East. (On details see Exeg. Notes.)

According to this Table, then, the "world" of the Hebrews in the 6–5th cent. B.C. embraced the nations around Palestine, Eastward through Aram to Babylonia and Assyria and the nations still farther East—Media, Persia, and Elam; on the North, from Armenia (Magog, Ashkenaz) Westward to Asia Minor (Gomer, Togarmah, Tubal, Meshech, and Lud); in Europe and the West, Greece and its colonies, Rhodes, Cyprus, Carthage (?), and Tarshish; and to the South, Egypt, Cush, and Arabia. An allusion to India is found for the first time in Esth. i. 1, viii, 9. The exact connotation of Sinim (Isa. xlix. 12) is too uncertain to found upon. So far as literary evidence goes, the rest of the world was then *terra incognita.*

CHAPTER IX.

Social and Religious Institutions.

In the idyllic picture of Paradise (ch. ii.) we have the first stage of human life depicted as one of blissful innocence and ignorance, when the man and his wife lived in the garden, naked, yet unashamed, at peace and friendship with the lower animals, enjoying like them the fruits of the ground, and knowing neither suffering nor death.[1]

This is, of course, an idealised picture, the "golden age" of the primæval past being the reflection of the golden glory of childhood, as it appears to the man who travels "daily farther from the east," coloured by dim memories of the fertile plains and "gardens" of Babylonia. Yet it does embody certain elements which anthropological science also ascribes to the life of primitive man: the natural, innocent nakedness, the open life in the steppe or forest, and subsistence on the fruits of the trees of the ground.

The dawn of self-consciousness marks the first step in the onward march of civilisation. Man then seeks to clothe himself, to found a home, and to work for his daily

[1] The same features appear as elements in the "Golden Ages" of other national traditions. Cf. esp. Hes., *Works and Days*, ll. 109 ff.; Ovid, *Met.* i. 89 ff.

bread. This stage is suggested in iii. 21, 23, where Jahveh clothes the man and his wife in coats of skin,[1] and sends them forth to till the ground.

It is only, however, when we reach the nomadic stage of civilisation that the picture assumes its right proportions. The memory of this stage has been preserved with remarkable fidelity, not only in the patriarchal legends, but even in the old desert tradition of ch. iv., where we come into contact with the primary institutions of Bedouin life, as they remain essentially the same to the present day.

In vv. 20–22 we have the chief arts and callings traced back to their eponymous "fathers" or founders, Jabal, Jubal, and Tubal. In the foreground, as the most honourable class in Bedouin society—the "sons" of Jabal, the eldest son of Lamech, and therefore the heir of the family tradition—stand the pure nomads, who "dwell in tents, and deal with cattle." The lordly pride of these desert nomads, who were as mighty with the sword as with their more peaceful pastoral weapons, and were quick to avenge insult and injury, is admirably reflected in the Song of Lamech, who boasts of his prowess before his wives, in the very spirit of the modern Arab. Closely associated with the pastoral nomads, and next to them in rank and social reputation, stand the poets and musicians, "such as handle the harp and pipe"—the simple instruments of the tribesmen. At the bottom of the scale, treated as pariahs by the pure-blooded nomads, are classed "those that work with bronze and iron,"—the

[1] A special sanctity continued to be ascribed to "coats of skin" among the most distantly related nations. Cf. W. Robertson Smith, *Rel. Sem.* pp. 437 f.

wandering caste of "smiths," who still visit the different tribes of Arabia, whetting their notched swords and tinkering their leaking or dented copper vessels.[1]

In the days of the patriarchs of Israel, as at the present day, the Bedouin of the desert were bound together in various groups or tribes, larger or smaller,[2] in more or less stable equilibrium, now uniting to form larger coalitions, then again dividing to form smaller tribes, sometimes even vanishing, to be replaced by new septs. And these groups were "held together within themselves, not by any elaborate political organisation, but by a traditional sentiment of unity, which they believed or feigned to be a unity of blood, and by the recognition and exercise of certain mutual obligations and social duties and rights, which united all the members of the same group to one another as against all other groups and their members."[3]

Illustrations of this tribal order of society we have already found in our sketch of Israelite tradition. The various members of the Hebrew family formed an extensive group, which afterwards broke up into separate tribes, Israel, Edom, Moab, and Ammon. The union of

[1] The Bedouins still look on themselves "as the root of the Arabs, and the germ of Islam," and look down with lordly contempt on the settled peoples of the oasis or the town (cf. Doughty, *Ar. Des.* i. 86, ii. 245, etc.). On their love of song and music, and the estimation in which they hold their poets and musicians, cf. Doughty, *op. cit.* i. 41, 98, 556, etc. On the other hand, the wandering smiths are regarded with disdain (*ibid.* i. 137, 280 f., ii. 6).

[2] Burckhardt mentions encampments extending from ten to eight hundred tents (*Bedouins and Wahabys*, pp. 18 f.). According to a recent Turkish census, the Arab tribes in Palestine are often still smaller, their encampments ranging from four, six, and eight to three hundred tents of five persons each (Cornill, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, pp. 37 f.).

[3] W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*, p. 1.

the Kenites with Israel, again, is an example of coalition into a larger unity. And even when Israel developed into a nation, under a hereditary monarchy, the tribal system persisted, as it still flourishes in Arabia under the sway of Islam.

The idea of the unity of tribal blood—a universal tenet of Arab society—lies at the basis of the genealogical system which we have investigated (pp. 88 f.), and will be further found to be a fundamental principle of social morality, even to late Hebrew times.

This unity of blood is derived most naturally from family relationship. The sons of the same parent, or parents, are "of the same blood," and therefore members of the same tribe. Thus, in the genealogical lines, the members of the various tribes of Israel, Edom, etc., are represented as "sons" of the eponymous "fathers" of these tribes. This implies that, during the historical period, at least, the father was regarded as head of the clan, and descent was reckoned through him. But there is not wanting evidence of a still earlier "matriarchal" stage of society, when relationship was counted through the mother. Suggestions of this are found in the phrase, "therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife" (ii. 24), as well as in the practice of the mother's naming the child (iv. 1, 25, and elsewhere in J). In their present context, doubtless, these words are but a form of speech. But all such forms have their history, and are thus fossil remains (as it were) of a long-past social age. Combined with other evidence which has been pointed out (Laban's claim upon the children of his daughters as "his sons and daughters," the Egyptian nationality

of Joseph's children before their adoption by Israel, the circumcision of Shechem before he could marry a daughter of Israel, etc.), they go to show that such a stage did lie at the back of the later "patriarchal" order.[1]

In the social state presupposed in the old traditions, whether Kenite or Israelite, monogamy is not the universal rule. Not only the Bedouin chief, Lamech, but even the "fathers" of Israel, both Abraham and Jacob, have two wives, apart from their handmaids. But these traditions are free from that unlimited polygamy which was the source of so much moral disorder and corruption during the regal period, and represent rather the state of things which persists to the present day in the healthier atmosphere of the desert.[2] The chaste and sober myth of the making of woman, however, implies that even such temperate indulgence is unnatural and abnormal. It seems to be the clear intention of the story that strict monogamy is the true and normal condition (cf. Exeg. Notes).

The curse of woman (iii. 16) is the reflection of the actual position that women hold in Oriental countries, as seen in Arabian practice to the present day.[3] But again the old myth, with its exquisite

[1] Cf. W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*, p. 207.

[2] "The greater number of Arabs content themselves with one wife; very few have two wives: and I never met with any person who could recollect a Bedouin that had four wives at once in his tents" (Burckhardt, *Bedouins etc.* p. 61). Of the Egyptians, too, few have more than one wife, and very few avail themselves of Mohammed's licence to have four (cf. Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, i. 168). In the early Babylonian period, monogamy was likewise the rule, though a few leading men had more wives than one; unlimited polygamy was the outcome of a later and more luxurious stage of society (cf. Johns, *Babylonian and Assyrian Laws*, p. 134).

[3] "Marriage is nothing but bondage" (W. R. Smith, *Kinship and*

delicacy of touch, and its reverence for the tender grace and sacredness of the union of man and woman, shows that to the higher spirits in Israel, at least, this was not the ideal relation. · As she came from the Creator's hand, woman was rather intended to be the helper of man, his associate, friend and fellow-worker, all the more fitted for her high vocation by reason of the differences in physique and temperament that marked her off from man (cf. Notes on ii. 22 ff.).

In the family, with its common ties of blood, we find the basis of the tribe. The Semitic tribe, indeed, is but a larger family. Strangers were admitted within the sacred pale,—members of other tribes, who sought alliance (*e.g.* the Kenites, Ex. xviii. 1 ff.), or outlaws for murder or other crimes, who sought to escape the "avenger of blood,"—but to this end they had to receive the common tribal blood by such sacred ceremonies as the "blood-covenant" (cf. Gen. xv. 9 ff.), or blood-licking or dipping.[1] Thus the "blood unity" was extended to all the members of the tribe, whether their connection with the society came from blood descent or voluntary adherence.

But the primitive Semitic tribe was as much a religious as a social unity. The members of the same tribe were bound together by common acts of worship and devotion to the same God or gods (*e.g.* Israel to Jahveh, Moab to Chemosh, Ammon to Milcom). The

Marriage, p. 95). "Once married, a Bedouin female becomes a mere servant, busily occupied the whole day, whilst her husband lies stretched out in his own apartment, comfortably smoking his pipe" (Burckhardt, *Bedouins etc.* p. 199). "A woman must be kept in subjection" (statement of an Arab husband to Doughty, *Ar. Des.* ii. 141).

[1] Cf. W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 313 ff.

tribal god was likewise regarded as of the "same blood" as his tribesmen. Though we find neither in Israel nor in Arabia stories of the physical descent of men from gods, yet the occurrence of words like *âb*, "father," *âḥ*, "brother," *ʿam*, "kinsman," coupled with the name of the deity to form personal names, shows that this was the primitive Semitic idea. This is doubtless also the idea underlying the Babylonian myth of the creation of men and beasts alike from the blood of Marduk. Both men and beasts are of "the blood of the gods."[1] And though in Israel these crude conceptions of the Divine nature have been long since overcome, or persist only in such relics of heathenism as Gen. vi. 1 ff., yet living connection with the God of Israel is maintained by means of blood. The essential character of tribal sacrifice, *e.g.*, was communion through blood between the worshippers on the one hand and the God on the other (cf. pp. 212 ff.). And "blood covenants" could be entered into between man and God, as well as between man and man (cf. Gen. xv. 9 ff.).

This blood connection between the tribe and its god gave a religious sanction to such social institutions as marriage and births, and tribal alliances and adoptions. The institutions which maintained and developed the tribal unity were as much the affairs of the god as of his tribe. Thus all of them were accompanied by significant religious rites. The mysteries of marriage and birth, for example, were "sanctified" by various "purifications," but were especially associated with the cardinal rite of circumcision. Alliances between tribes

[1] On blood-kinship between the god and his worshipper, and the animals contained within the sacred circle, cf. Robertson Smith, *op. cit.* pp. 41 ff.

were signalised by a common sacrifice, through the "blood" of which the participating tribes were united in the worship of the same God (cf. Ex. xviii. 12). The adoption of members of other tribes partook of the same religious character. The person adopted became thenceforth the devotee of his new tribe's God (cf. the adoption by Israel of the sons of Joseph, Gen. xlviii. 15 f.). Even an outlaw received into the camp of a protecting tribe became the *gar* (גֵּר) of the tribe's God as well. A reflection of this idea is seen in Gen. iv. 15, where Jahveh, while punishing the murderer, yet becomes the Goel of the fugitive outlaw who seeks His protection (cf. *infra*).

This unity of blood is the principle of the law of Blood Revenge, the basis of all Bedouin justice. The blood which bound together the different members of the tribe, together with their god, was the most sacred element in life. Therefore blood shed demanded blood-shed in requital. In the picturesque legend of the Arabs, there rose from the blood (or bones) of the slain man the "death-owl," which shrieked, "Give me to drink," until it was appeased by the blood of vengeance.[1] This is the idea which finds expression in the "crying of Abel's blood" (Gen. iv. 10). The carrying out of Vengeance for bloodshed was thus a sacred obligation. The near kinsmen of the slain man were the most deeply involved. But the whole tribe was likewise concerned. The common blood of the tribe had been spilt, and the responsibility of requital lay on all alike. Thus it was

[1] Cf. *Hamâsa*, No. 451 (Rückert's edition):

"O God, if I die, and Thou give not to mine owl to drink
Of Laila, no grave lies thirstier than my grave."

considered the height of cowardly indignity to decline the obligation.[1] Moreover, Vengeance was a religious duty. The honour of the god was involved in the sanctity of his tribe's blood. And requital was due to him as well. This aspect of blood revenge likewise comes to view in the story of Cain the murderer. The blood of Abel "crieth unto Me from the ground" (iv. 10), and in response to the cry Jahveh appears as the "Avenger of blood" (vv. 11 ff.). Thus the claims of kinship and religion alike united to create that "thirst"[2] for blood which was not sated until full payment had been made. Although, technically, the law of Vengeance was satisfied by a "life for a life," yet in practice the avenging of blood was often carried to the utmost length of ruthless ferocity. For one life many were taken, the murderer and his kinsfolk together.[3] Even for a wound blood was shed.[4] The Song of Lamech is a typical

[1] The honourable tribe was that whose motto was: "Never is blood of us poured forth without vengeance" (*Hamâsa*, 15, l. 20). On the other hand, those that returned good for evil, or compromised the right of vengeance for money, were regarded with the utmost contempt (cf. *Hamâsa*, 1, ver. 1). Burckhardt quotes a proverb of the modern Arab: "Were hell-fire to be my lot, I would not relinquish the Thar" (*Bedouins etc.* p. 179).

[2] This Arab "thirst" for blood was satisfied "originally in quite literal fashion" (Nöldeke, "Old Arabic Religion," in *Dict. Rel.* and *Ethics*, col. 637).

[3] Thus the Banu Tzafar avenge the murder of one of their tribe by slaying two grown men and three young boys—one but "little older than a weaned child" (*Lays of the Hudhailites*, Wellhausen's edit., 140, ver. 1). A dying Arab chieftain swears by God that for his blood "there must be slain fifty of you, none one-eyed and none lame," whence arose the tribal cry, "Never shall the avengers cease without their fifty" (*Hamâsa*, 328, l. 8). There is even found an instance of a "hundred for one" (cf. Procksch, *Ueber die Blutrache bei den Arabern*, p. 6, n. 2).

[4] Thus for a wound done to a fellow-tribesman, which merely broke his front tooth and tore his flesh, a Harethite clansman shed blood (Rückert's *Hamâsa*, p. 7). Cf. also the Arab proverb, "Muhalhil slew him (Bujair) but for the shoe's latchet of Kulaib" (Lyall, *Ancient Arabian Poetry*, pp. 6 f.).

example of such bloodthirstiness. As against Cain's "seven lives for one," Lamech boasted of his "seventy-seven for one," and even for a wound or bruise he claimed the life of his assailant, young or old. The song is quite in the spirit of Arab songs of war and vengeance.

The fiercest blood-feuds raged between members of different tribes. For the blood of a kinsman his tribe exacted a heavy penalty in the blood of the murderer's tribe. This led to reprisals, and these again to counter-reprisals. Thus we find blood-feuds and tribal wars lasting generation after generation.[1] The "war-cries" of Cain and Lamech (iv. 24) probably arose from such feuds. The law of blood revenge held good, however, between members of the same tribe as well. The tribesman that slew his "brother" forfeited his life to the kinsmen of the slain man. But in this case the murderer was given the chance of escape. Instead of being slain on the spot, he was first formally outlawed from his tribe, and then granted a period of grace, that he might gain, if possible, the asylum of another tribe. If the avenger of blood overtook him while still a wandering outlaw, he paid the forfeit with his blood. If, however, he reached the camping-ground of another tribe and was welcomed to its "brotherhood," he was safe. For his new tribe undertook his cause, and would exact vengeance for his blood.[2] This is the social practice which underlies the description in Gen. iv. 11 ff. Cain slays his "brother" Abel. In consequence, Jahveh, the "Avenger of blood," outlaws him, and drives him

[1] Thus, for example, the wars of Shatâfan and Wâ'il each lasted 40 years.
[2] Cf. Burckhardt, *Bedouins etc.* p. 86; Doughty, *Ar. Des.* i. 444, etc.

forth to the open desert, where he must wander helplessly exposed to the law of Revenge. Cain knows no friendly tribe to turn to. But in pity, Jahveh Himself undertakes his cause, receiving him under His protection, and denouncing sevenfold vengeance on any who should shed Cain's blood (ver. 15). Thus, through contact with the purer spirit of Israel's religion, the stern law of Vengeance is wedded to the Divine grace of forgiving mercy (cf. pp. 121, 165).

In the old Semitic world, as among other nations, certain marks or signs were worn to distinguish members of the same tribe or people. Of these, the most significant was Circumcision, a rite found not only among the Hebrews (Israel, Edom, Moab, and Ammon), but among all the Semitic tribes of Arabia, as well as among the Egyptians and other African races, the Polynesians, and other primitive peoples. In Gen. xvii. 10 ff. (P) circumcision is instituted as the "sign" of the covenant between El Shaddai and Abraham, and appointed to be performed on each male child on the eighth day after birth. This, however, represents the later Jewish theory and practice (cf. *infra*). The phrase חֲתַן־דָּמִים, "bridegroom of blood" (in the old Jahvistic narrative of Ex. iv. 24–26), and the close connection in Arabic between خَتَن, "bridegroom," and خَتَن, "circumcise," suggest that circumcision was originally connected with marriage, being the initiatory rite performed on bridegrooms preparatory to marriage.[1] This usage, indeed, is found in Arabia to the present day,[2] while among other lower races circumcision is performed upon boys or young men at the age of

[1] Cf. Well., *Prol.*[3] p. 355. [2] *Ibid.* p. 355, n. 1.

puberty.[1] The ceremony would thus be the rite of initiation into the full privileges of the tribe, including the rights of war and marriage. By the "bloody sacrifice" the young man became partner in his tribe's full "blood." Thus, too, the "bridegroom of blood" would originally mean "bridegroom of the true tribal blood." But the religious character of the tribal bond gave the rite of circumcision a religious complexion as well. It was the "bloody sacrifice" by which the young tribesman was initiated into full communion with his people's god, and thence admitted to a personal share in sacrifice and the other ordinances of worship. Thus, wherever it is practised, circumcision is a solemn religious ceremony, performed by religious officials, and accompanied by prayers and sacrifices.[2] In Israel this aspect of circumcision came to be more and more emphasised. Circumcision was regarded as the special badge of the God-fearing Israelite, distinguishing him from the "uncircumcised" Philistine. And, as Robertson Smith points out, this would explain the later practice of circumcision on the eighth day. "When the rite loses political significance, and becomes purely religious, it is not necessary that it should be deferred to the age of full manhood; indeed, the natural tendency of pious parents will be to dedicate their child as early as possible to the god who is to be his protector through life."[3]

A more specialised system of "marking" is found in Tattooing, a practice apparently widespread in earlier days, but now best studied among the Polynesians and

[1] Cf. Waitz u. Gerland, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, vi. 30; Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 369 ff.

[2] Cf. Waitz u. Gerland, *op. cit.* 36 f.

[3] *Rel. Sem.* p. 328.

other islanders of the South Seas.[1] The customs attending this rite closely resemble the ceremonies of circumcision. The tattoo marks were imprinted on young people of both sexes, from the age of puberty onwards. Apparently, then, the first act of tattooing, like circumcision, was a rite of initiation into the full responsibilities of manhood and womanhood. This act also was religious in its character, being performed by priests, often in the temple, to the accompaniment of hymns and prayers and other religious ceremonies. At each repeated operation, similar religious ordinances took place. It is apparent, therefore, that tattooing was likewise an act of dedication to a god. The tattooed person was the devotee of the god, bound to him by vows of allegiance, and at the same time under his protection. This latter aspect appears to be specially prominent in the religious ideas of the islanders. In certain islands, for example, it was the rule that all strangers must be tattooed, else the god of the islands would come and slay them.[2] The tattoo mark was thus the sign by which the god recognised his people. In this lies the sole distinction between circumcision and tattooing. The former was a secret sign of devotion, and was the same in kind all over the world. The latter was an outward sign, visible to God and man alike, which served the purpose of distinguishing the devotees of each separate god from other men. Thus tattoo marks were infinitely varied in form. A separate sign stood for each separate god. It seems most probable that the system sprang from totemistic beliefs and practices. The tattoo mark would thus be the

[1] Cf. Waitz u. Gerland, *op. cit.* pp. 28 ff. [2] *Ibid.* p. 35.

emblem, and originally the image, of the totem-god.[1] At all events, it was the sign of devotion to the god because really the mark of the god. Tattooing was even used to indicate the degree of devotion. Among the islanders the chiefs and leading men, who stand nearest to the god, are most elaborately tattooed, ordinary tribesmen have but a simple mark, while slaves and common people, who have no independent religious status, are not tattooed.[2]

While the religious ceremonies that accompany tattooing stamp it as originally a religious rite, it is noteworthy that, even among the islanders, it tends to become a mere utilitarian sign. Thus a tattoo mark stands merely as the "mark" of the family or village to which a man or his possessions belong. Sometimes even it is a mere "help to memory."[3] This secularistic tendency throws light on the history of the rite in other countries.

Among the Arabs, both of the classical age of Arabic poetry and of the present, tattooing is only found as an ornamental decoration of women.[4] But travellers in the desert have found numbers of different tribal marks (*wasms*) branded on cattle, generally on the neck or left shoulder, or cut or scrawled on sepulchres or rocks, evidently to "mark" the cattle belonging to each separate tribe, or to distinguish their tombs and hunting-grounds.[5] On the analogy of Polynesian customs, both practices, though now purely secular, would point to an original religious tattooing. The marks we now find branded on the

[1] Waitz u. Gerland, *op. cit.* p. 36. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 30, 38. [3] *Ibid.* pp. 38 f.

[4] But this, it should be noted, chiefly before marriage (Jacob, *Altar. Beduinenleben*, p. 58).

[5] Cf. Burckhardt, *Bedouins etc.* p. 113; Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, i. 125 f., 350, ii. 53 f.

tribes' cattle, or traced on their tombs and rocks, were no doubt formerly tattooed on their persons, as the signs of devotion to their particular gods. There is, indeed, good evidence for the once wide prevalence of religious tattooing among Semitic peoples, as well as other nations. Lucian, *De Dea Syria*, § 59, speaks of the Syrian priests and people as universally bearing religious *stigmata* (tattoo marks) on the neck or wrist. Herod. ii. 113 tells of a temple of Heracles in Egypt where runaway slaves could give themselves over to the gods, and thus escape the service of their former masters, by having the στίγματα ἱρά branded upon them. Again, in v. 6 he reports that, among the Thracians, being "pricked with figures" was accounted "a mark of noble birth," while "not to be so marked was a sign of low birth." From the analogy of Polynesian customs we may reasonably find in such ideas and practices the "survival" of an original religious institution. We may further compare the habit of religious devotees printing the "marks" or names of their gods upon their hands or other parts of the body. This practice even survived to Christian times, Tertullian and Augustine both mentioning the *signum Christi* which certain Christian zealots branded on their bodies, and which they contrast with the *signum diaboli*—the στίγματα of heathen gods which their devotees branded on theirs.[1] The metaphor Paul uses in Gal. vi. 17, and the images of the "sealing of the 144,000 servants of God on their foreheads" (Rev. vii. 3 f.), and "the mark of the beast" on the right hand or forehead of his worshippers (Rev. xiii. 16 f., xx. 4), are clearly drawn from this practice, which was therefore quite familiar to the writers of the N.T.

[1] Cf. Spencer, *De Legibus Hebræorum Ritualibus* (ed. 1732), i. 409.

We need not be surprised, then, to find allusions to tattooing in the O.T. as well. Thus, for example, in Isa. xliv. 5 the people of Jahveh are spoken of as having the sign ליהוה written or pricked out on their hands as the "sign" of their devotion to their God, while in Ezek. ix. 4, 6 those that "sigh and cry for all the abominations" done in the land have the *tav* (sign of the cross) marked upon their foreheads, so that the destroyers may recognise them and pass them by. The evident allusion in these figures to religious customs and conceptions we have traced in widely different nations, proves them to have been well known in Israel as well. The denunciation of כְּתֹבֶת קַעֲקַע, LXX. *γράμματα στικτά*, evidently tattoo marks, together with "cuttings on the flesh," in Lev. xix. 28, actually presupposes the prevalence of such practices, even to a late date, among certain sections of the people.

There seems little doubt, then, that the "sign" which Jahveh gave to Cain, "lest any finding him should slay him" (iv. 15), was a tattoo mark, probably on his forehead (cf. Ezek. ix. 4, 6), to show all men that Cain was under His protection, and thus to save his life. In all probability the mark was the "sign of Jahveh," the *tav* (Ezek. ix. 4, 6)—which was once doubtless worn quite openly by His devotees, and only afterwards degenerated into a superstition. As the Kenites maintained their old nomadic ways long after Israel had settled down to agricultural and city life (cf. pp. 189 f.), they may well have kept up the tattooing practice even after their "brethren" of Israel had come to regard it as an unworthy superstition. Its survival among them would readily explain this element in the Cain legend.[1]

[1] Cf. Stade, *ZATW*, 1894, pp. 253 f., 300 f.

A rite still more directly associated with religion is Sacrifice. In olden times, indeed, this was *the* characteristic expression of religious devotion. Its connection with religion comes clearly to light in the chapters of Genesis at present under review. In the Priestly Document, it is true, sacrifice is rigorously excluded until the Levitical legislation. This, however, is not the reflection of popular tradition, but the logical consequence of the writer's priestly theory. In the Jahvistic narrative sacrifice is represented as a normal act of religious worship from the beginning of history (iv. 3 ff.). This is in entire agreement with the certified results of anthropological investigation, as well as religious psychology. As far back as the records of man's life on the earth can carry us, sacrifice is found indissolubly bound up with religion. And in its essence, sacrifice is an immediate expression of man's religious needs and instincts. The two, therefore, must have coexisted from the beginning.

Into the controversies regarding the original character of sacrifice we can enter only so far as concerns our present purpose.

The learned and brilliant studies of Wellhausen and Robertson Smith have emphasised the communal aspect of primitive sacrifice. According to these scholars, sacrifice was from the beginning, and essentially, an act of "communion" between the god and his worshippers by common participation in the divine life of the sacred (totem) animal slain.[1] There can be no doubt that the regular tribal sacrifices were communal acts of "table-fellowship" through which the members of the tribe

[1] Cf. *Reste Arabischen Heidenthums*, pp. 124 ff.; *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 275 ff.

maintained and developed their social and religious unity through communion with their god. It may be questioned, however, whether this was the original character of sacrifice. The "communion" theory presupposes the development of the tribal system, and the awakening of the mystical sense, to a certain extent at least, while sacrifice must be traced back to a still earlier stage of social and religious development. Nor does the theory seem to cover all the forms of sacrifice, notably the burnt-offerings and the child-sacrifices which played so important a part in Semitic worship, and which can only be explained on very arbitrary principles from the supposed original form of "communion" festivals.

Of the two acts of sacrifice recorded in Gen. i.–xi., that of Cain and Abel was the token of their gratitude to Jahveh for His goodness in giving them abundance of fruit and flocks. In return for His gifts to them, Cain offered to Him as a "gift" (מִנְחָה) some portion of his harvest, while Abel shared with him the best of his firstlings. The second act of sacrifice, that of Noah, was prompted by the same motive. As a fitting expression of gratitude for his great deliverance, Noah offered burnt-offerings of every clean beast and fowl. These instances, no doubt, reflect but one aspect of worship. It is an aspect, however, that should not be overlooked. Religion does stimulate men's feelings of gratitude, as well as their sense of dependence, confidence, guilt, and hope. And the offering up of what is valuable to them as a "free gift" to God, or their inviting Him to share their good things, is the natural expression of gratitude. Thus we find such spontaneous sacrifices offered up, in early and late times alike, on such joyful occasions, private and public, as

births and family gatherings, success in war, the cessation of pestilence or famine, the accession of a king, the dedication of temples, and the like.

But gratitude is not the only motive that prompts men to sacrifice. They were offered also to appease God's wrath and win His favour, when (*e.g.*) men wished to have their conscience stilled and their guilt removed, or sought God's help in their enterprises, or in their war against their foes. This aspect of sacrifice also appears in Noah's offering, which had the effect of "satisfying" or appeasing Jahveh (viii. 21). These sacrifices are equally natural expressions of human feeling and desire. Indeed, human nature is so curiously blended that selfish motives may be found intermingled in the self-denying sacrifices of gratitude. Even when expressing their thankfulness to God for His favours, men may seek to win more (cf. Gen. xxviii. 18 ff.). Thus we should class thank-offerings and sacrifices of petition and desire in the same general category, as free, spontaneous expressions of the religious spirit in its various modes of approach to God. And in these we are disposed to find the root from which are most naturally derived the different forms which a later age classified as Thank-offerings, Peace-offerings, Burnt-offerings, Sin- and Guilt-offerings, —all of them the immediate outcome of such religious feelings as gratitude, desire, joy, fear, guilt and sin, hope and aspiration.

In these sacrifices, then, the expression of feeling is direct, and the effect sought to be produced is equally direct, and not through the *tertium quid* of "communion with God." Yet this mystical element already appears, for example, in such Thank- and Peace-offerings as

consisted in sharing life's good things with God, the Giver of good (cf. the sacrifice of Cain and Abel). By participation in common benefits, a certain "communion" of life and interest was established between God and His worshippers. This element is specially prominent in meat-offerings, where God and His worshippers joined in a common meal, part of the animal sacrificed being conveyed to God, and the rest enjoyed by the worshippers. With the development of tribal unity and sentiment, such offerings became a regular statutory rite, at such prescribed seasons as New Moon and Ragab (the Spring month). At these communal sacrifices the direct end sought was neither the expression of gratitude, nor the desire to appease God's wrath and win His favour, but the communion of the worshipping tribesmen with their God Himself. The very act of eating together "before Jahveh," *i.e.* with Him as a fellow-participant in the feast, was a bond of friendship and brotherhood. But the importance attached in all sacrifice to the *blood* of slaughtered animals shows that in that element lay the full efficacy of the rite. In historical times, the blood of the victim was conveyed to God by being shed on the altar, or poured into the sacred pit or cave, the flesh alone being reserved for man (cf. Gen. ix. 4). The blood, which was the life of the animal (*loc. cit.*), was then considered too sacred for man to partake of. But in more ancient times the worshippers seem also to have partaken of the blood;[1] and in historical times in Israel the blood was sprinkled on the people (cf. Ex. xxiv.), or applied to them in other ways (Lev. iv. 5 ff., viii. 23 f.; etc.). As the blood was the bond and seal of life (cf. pp. 201 f.), a real living

[1] Cf. W. Robertson Smith, *Rel. Sem.* pp. 338 ff.

union was thus established and maintained between God and His worshipping people. The connection of sacrifice with totemism, and the consequent theory that the blood of the animal slaughtered for sacrifice represented the life blood common to the tribe and its victim,[1] are still highly problematical. The tracing of all sacrifice back to this root leads to somewhat arbitrary explanations, and overlooks certain essential moods of the religious spirit (cf. p. 214). It seems, however, to be clearly established that, in its communal form at least, "the fundamental idea of ancient sacrifice is sacramental communion," the efficacy of which lay in an actual "communication of Divine life to the worshippers, and the establishment or confirmation of a living bond between them and their God"[2]—the great end of all religious life.

Of the sacred seasons of Israel, only the Sabbath (Gen. ii. 2 f.) concerns us here.

Together with circumcision and abstinence from blood, the keeping of the Sabbath was in later days regarded as a special "symbol of Judaism," which marked off the Jews from all other peoples (cf. Ezek. xx. 12; Isa. lvi. 2 ff.; Neh. ix. 14). But the widespread observance of the two related rites raises the presumption that the Sabbath was as little an original Hebrew ordinance. That, in fact, it was directly derived from Babylonia has been categorically affirmed by many scholars.

In the Hemerologies for the months Arahsama and the second (or intercalary) Elul it appears that certain restrictions were laid down for the 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th days. Thus "the shepherd (ruler, king) of the great peoples shall not eat flesh cooked by fire, which is

[1] *Rel. Sem.* pp. 289 ff. [2] *Ibid.* p. 439.

smoked (?), he shall not change the dress of his body, he shall not put on white, he shall not make an offering. The king shall not ride in his chariot, the priestess shall not declare (a divine decision), in secret spot a seer shall not make an oracle, a physician shall not lay his hand on a sick man, (the day) is unsuitable for doing business." And while other days are called "propitious days" (days when men may do work and prosper), these are called "propitious days, evil days" (*i.e.* propitious days if rightly kept, unpropitious if wrongly).[1] With these days was classed as specially holy the 19th day, *i.e.* the 49th = 7 × 7th from the beginning of the preceding month. And as the name *shapattu* or *shabattu*, which is equated with *ûm nûch libbi* (*ilâni*) = "day of resting (satisfying or propitiating) the heart of the gods," was found on a few inscriptions, the name was naturally enough applied to these "propitious, unpropitious days," and the sweeping conclusion drawn that "there can be no possible doubt that we owe the blessings of the Sabbath or Sunday rest in the last instance to that old civilised people on the Tigris and Euphrates."[2] This judgment has been endorsed by several leading O.T. scholars as well, who content themselves with emphasising the essential marks of difference between Babylonian and Israelite Sabbath observance, the former being a day of fear and gloom, the latter one of joyful worship of God and kindly humanity towards one's neighbour, the difference being justly ascribed to the pure and gracious spirit of Israel's religion.[3]

It is by no means so probable, however, that an institution like the Sabbath would be derived from a

[1] Pinches, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1904, p. 52.
[2] Delitzsch, *Babel u. Bibel*, p. 29.
[3] Cf. König, *Bibel u. Babel*, p. 53; Driver, *Genesis*, pp. 34 ff.; etc.

foreign nation. Traditions are readily carried from people to people. But sacred rites and institutions are much more deeply rooted in the heart of the nation. Of all national customs, indeed, these are the most persistent. And recent investigations seem to bear directly against the idea of derivation from Babylonia. The close relation of שַׁבָּת and *shabattu*[1] appears undoubted. But in the Tablet published by Pinches[2] the term *shabattu* is used not of the five "propitious, unpropitious days," but in exclusive reference to the 15th day of the month. Moreover, the five days do not appear to have been "days of rest" from secular occupation, at all events in the later period of Babylonian history. From an examination of contract-tables of the Ḫammurabi age,—to which the Hemerologies most probably belong,—Johns has indeed found a marked tendency towards cessation from secular work.[3] But documents belonging to other epochs appear to show no such tendency.[4] The allusions to Sabbath-keeping in the exilic and later literature of Israel (cf. Ezek. xx. 12; Lam. i. 7; Isa. lvi. 2 ff.; etc.) also imply that the observance was then unknown in Babylonia. The recognised five-days length of the Babylonian week[5] makes direct derivation from such a quarter still more improbable.

While there are certain elements then common to the observances of the two peoples, the marks of difference

[1] The original derivation and force of the words are, however, much disputed. The source is too remote to yield any real basis of certainty.

[2] *Op. cit.*, facing p. 56.

[3] "An examination of 356 dated documents, giving an average of say 12 per day, shows only 5 for the 7th, 4 for the 14th, 8 for the 21st, 7 for the 28th, and 2 for the 19th" (art. on "Statistics of Sabbath Keeping in Babylonia," *Expos.* 1906, p. 440).

[4] *Ibid.* pp. 437 ff.

[5] Cf. Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, ii. 91 ff

appear too distinct to support the theory of derivation. The relation of the two, rather, combines with other evidence to show common descent from an original Semitic observance.

To pastoral nomads like the Semites of Arabia, the moon and its phases are objects of supreme interest and veneration. Thus moon worship plays a large part in their religious rites. "The month is beyond question an old sacred division of time common to all the Semites; even the Arabs, who received the week at quite a late date from the Syrians, greeted the new moon with religious acclamations. And this must have been an old Semitic usage, for the word which properly means 'to greet the new moon' (*ahalla*) is etymologically connected with the Hebrew words used of any festal joy."[1] The word חֹדֶשׁ itself belongs to a common Semitic root. There is clear evidence, therefore, for an original Semitic observance of New-moon day. The special sanctity of the Babylonian *shabattu*, the 15th or full-moon day, and the collocation of "new moon and Sabbath" in the older literature of Israel (cf. 2 Kings iv. 23; Amos viii. 5; Hos. ii. 13; Isa. i. 13), seem further to point to the celebration of an original Semitic "Sabbath" as Full-moon day.[2] The careful regulation of the four lunar periods in the *Seven Tables of Creation*, v. 17 ff., and the observance of the four, or five, monthly "sacred" days by the Babylonians of the Ḥammurabi dynasty, fresh from their desert home, would suggest that the two other phases of the

[1] *EB*, iv. col. 4179.

[2] Cf. Zimmern, *ZDMG*, 1904, p. 202. On this basis Meinhold has constructed his recent revolutionary theory that the Jewish seventh-day Sabbath really dates from Ezekiel (*Sabbath u. Woche im AT*, pp. 9 ff.).

moon were likewise observed with religious celebrations. For the usage of other Semitic peoples, evidence is of the scantiest. But at least "the Harranians had four sacrificial days in every month."[1]

Analogy will guide us to the probable nature of these celebrations. As religious ordinances, they would consist chiefly in sacrificial feasts. Such a thing as a "day of rest" in the strict Jewish sense would, of course, be inapplicable to the conditions of life of the nomadic Arabs, who had their flocks and herds to attend to. But during the celebration of the sacrificial feast, at all events, there would be cessation from ordinary work, as we find among many nations besides the Semites,[2] and the prevalence of brotherly peace and harmony, such as characterised the festival of Ragab.

The observance of four such lunar festivals by the early Semites seems best to explain the historical origin and mutual relations of the Hebrew and Babylonian festal days. In both nations the celebrations were maintained, though under the influence of more settled conditions of life the dates of observance were determined no longer by the phases of the moon, but by intervals of seven days—the Hebrews reckoning successive periods of seven days, irrespective of the beginning of the month; the Babylonians, on the other hand, calculating their festal periods from the first day of each month. Among the Hebrews the name "Sabbath" was extended to cover the whole succession of "seventh days," and in the process of their history these days acquired increasing sanctity. In

[1] *EB*, iv. col. 4179.

[2] "The Greeks and barbarians have this in common, that they accompany their sacred rites by a festal remission of labour" (Strabo, x. iii. 9).

Babylonia, on the other hand, while the original "Sabbath" — the monthly Full-moon festival — continued to be observed as a sacred season, the observance of the other sacred days appears to have fallen more and more into disuse. There seems no valid reason to doubt the tradition which associates the original promulgation of the "Sabbath law," which gave that day its peculiar character in Israel, with the name of Moses.[1] The decisive breaking with the past would be most fittingly associated with the Exodus from Egypt. A seventh day's rest for the weary pilgrims in the desert would be both an act of humanity and a means of grace for the enlightenment and cultivation of their faith in Jahveh. It would likewise be a regulation wisely anticipating the more settled life and labour in Palestine, worthy of a leader like Moses.

With the settlement of the nation in Palestine, a great change took place in the people's habits and sentiments. The nomadic life was definitely abandoned. Those who still adhered to pastoral pursuits became settled shepherds (iv. 2). The bulk of the population gave themselves to

[1] The "seventh day's rest" commandment is found not only in the Elohistic Decalogue (Ex. xx. 8 ff.), but also in the old "ritual" Code (Ex. xxxiv. 21) and the nearly related "Book of the Covenant" (Ex. xxiii. 12). Even, therefore, if the Codes be not themselves the work of Moses, the customs which they presuppose must reach back to the earliest period of Israel's history, the determining influence on which was undoubtedly the great creative work of Moses. Meinhold escapes the force of this evidence by assigning the Decalogue of Ex. xx. to P, and confining the restriction of xxxiv. 21 to "plowing time and harvest," and even then regarding the verse as a late insertion (*op. cit.* pp. 33 f., 37 ff.). The later motive appended to the Fourth Commandment does, indeed, show dependence on P (Gen. ii. 2 f.); but the groundwork of this commandment, as of the others, is quite distinct in style from the corresponding sections of P (*e.g.* Ex. xxxi. 15, xxxv. 2; Lev. xxiii. 3). The antiquity of the law in Ex. xxxiv. 21 seems likewise to be proved by its recurrence in the "Book of the Covenant," which shows so many signs of connection with the older Code.

agriculture and vine-dressing (ix. 20). From this new position of increased prosperity and comfort, they looked down on their neighbours who still maintained their primitive nomadic habits, as having sadly fallen from the more honourable agricultural stage (cf. iv. 11 ff.). And yet the old nomadic institutions continued to form the groundwork of their new national life and customs. The people was now a kingdom. But the tribal organisation persisted. The kingdom was not so much an integral unity, as a confederation, more or less close, of the twelve tribes (cf. 2 Sam. v. 1 ; 1 Kings xii. 20 ff. ; etc.). And that which preserved their unity was the consciousness of common descent. They were all of one blood—the common "children of Israel." In the same way, the law of blood revenge remained as the fundamental principle of justice. "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed" (Gen. ix. 6). But the higher moral sense of the people of Jahveh showed itself in the restrictions which now fenced round the law, and prevented such ruthless excesses as their nomadic ancestors had freely indulged in. The *jus talionis*—"an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth" (Ex. xxi. 24 ; etc.)—no doubt stands self-condemned before the higher principle of Christian love (Matt. v. 38 ff.). But it marked a great step in advance above the unregulated principle of Vengeance. By establishing strict justice, it formed a real preparation for the operation of the higher law. And, as we have seen in connection with the story of Cain (p. 206), the demands of strict justice are already broken through by an adumbration at least of the Gospel of Divine love and forgiveness.

Of the ritual institutions which belong to the tribal

stage, circumcision remained as the peculiar "sign" of the covenant which bound Israel to Jahveh (Gen. xvii. 10 ff.). On the other hand, tattooing degenerated into a superstition forbidden to the true worshippers of Jahveh (Lev. xix. 28), and elsewhere referred to only in metaphor or allusion. Sacrifice naturally persisted, as the essential element in the worship of God, becoming constantly more developed and specialised, with increasing reference to Atonement for sin. The Sabbath likewise maintained its sanctity as the day peculiar to Jahveh, and a specially sacred bond of union between Him and His people (cf. Ex. xxxi. 12 ff.; etc.). In earlier days a joyful festival, dominated by humanitarian motives (Deut. v. 12 ff.), the Sabbath tended under priestly influence to become a "holy" day, laden with "burdens grievous to be borne." But to the true worshippers of Jahveh, it was always a "delight" (cf. Isa. lviii. 13 f.), a day which kept alive their faith and joy in God amid the depressing gloom of exile and foreign bondage, and in which they enjoyed "some presentiment of the pure bliss and happiness which are stored up for the righteous in the world to come."[1]

[1] Schechter, quoted by Driver, *DB*, iv. p. 321. On the "joy of the Sabbath," even during the period of its most stringent observance, cf. Bohn, *Der Sabbath im Alten Testament*, pp. 47 ff.

CHAPTER X.

Revelation and Inspiration.

Thus far we have pursued our subject in strictly scientific fashion, seeking to apprehend as clearly as possible the light cast by these early chapters of Genesis on the faith and traditions of Israel. But the Christian student must also relate the results of scientific inquiry to his belief in the Scriptures as the Word of God "given by inspiration."

Here, too, we must proceed, not on the bold wings of *a priori* assumption, but along the lines of patient critical analysis of the facts of the case. It may be convenient, therefore, briefly to survey the main results of our investigation.

A comparatively young member of the Semitic family, nurtured in the common cradle of the race, and then in her period of adolescence migrating like her elder brothers and sisters in quest of fresh fields and pastures, after many vicissitudes—through which she preserved her old family traditions and institutions, gradually influenced and recast by enlarging experience and contact with other nations—the nation of Israel finally reached a settled home in Palestine, where she developed her own peculiar genius. That genius was distinctively religious. In all that pertains to religious knowledge,

faith and practice, Israel stands as unique among the nations of the earth as Greece in art or Rome in law. Other nations sought God "if haply they might feel after Him and find Him." Israel knew God. From the time of the covenant of Sinai, Jahveh was for Israel an "absolutely luminous and self-evident Being," in whom they believed even when they rebelled against His will. No doubt, other nations had their gods, in whom they believed with the same conviction. But the God of Israel alone was an "ethical personality" (cf. pp. 115 ff.), the good and gracious One, righteous and merciful, who sought to make His people worthy of Him. And the development of religion in Israel shows, as in no other nation, an increasing purpose. From the midst of that people rose those religious "men of genius," the prophets, who spoke of God, and for God, with a clearness and certainty of conviction that find no parallel in religious history, and through whose word and influence the knowledge of God grew from more to more, "unto the perfect day" of Jesus Christ.

The loftiest feelings and experiences of man cannot be rudely dismissed as mere blind gropings in the dark, nor the spiritual achievements of the nations as but a meaningless play of shadows. Like other impulses of the soul, the religious instincts reach after an objective Reality. As the sense of Beauty is related to a world of beauteous forms and sounds, or the quest of truth to a Universe where law reigns, or Conscience to a moral order, so the religious aspirations and convictions of man are related to a personal Good, the eternal Reality in whom alone the seeking soul finds rest. And these reachings after the Eternal are not one-sided. They

involve a mutual correspondence. "In Thy light we see light"—in the spiritual realm as in the world of sense. We know God only as He makes Himself known to us, by the "unveiling" or "revealing" of His truth and grace, His mind and will and character, to our spiritual vision. Thus Revelation is the necessary correlative of Religion. Wherever men have caught glimpses of the glory of God, and rejoiced in their light, there God has been revealing Himself to men. Thus, in a real sense, Revelation is universal, as Religion is. God has not "left Himself without witness" in any nation (Acts xiv. 17). But in its special and peculiar sense, Revelation is bound up with the history of Israel. The inner meaning of that history is that God called and separated Israel. that He might reveal to her, and through her to all other peoples, the fulness of His glory and redeeming love. And the religious development we have just briefly sketched—the emergence of Israel above her Semitic environment, her clear conviction of God and His grace, the fulness of content with which His righteous and merciful character was more and more invested, and, above all, the unique expression which the prophets gave to their people's faith, with its perfect "fulfilment" in Jesus Christ—is the gradual unfolding of His self-revealing purpose. "God, having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners, hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in His Son, who is the effulgence of His glory, and the express image of His substance" (Heb. i. 1 ff.).

It follows from the mutual correspondence of Revelation and religious faith that God can reveal

Himself only to men who have enough of His Spirit to understand and sympathise with and respond to the revelation. Thus Inspiration is the equally necessary complement of Revelation. As in the Greek world the interpreters of Beauty to their fellows were the great poets and artists who were touched and fired by the spirit of Beauty, so in Israel the special media of God's Revelation were "the men that had the Spirit" (Hos. ix. 7)—the prophets who were so "possessed" by the Spirit of God that His word was "in their hearts like a burning fire shut up in their bones," which they could not forbear from uttering (Jer. xx. 9). But the gift of the Spirit was not confined to these few elect souls. Nor did it show itself invariably in this ecstatic form. In a real sense, Israel itself was an "inspired" people. As the immortal spirits of Greece rose from the *milieu* of a people intoxicated with the love of Beauty, and keenly sensitive to its appeal in every form, so too the prophets of Israel belonged to a people who, through much dulness and backsliding and rebellion, were yet led and educated by the Spirit of God to receive the message of Revelation, and thus to be the "prophet" of God to other nations. The consciousness of Israel's "prophetic" calling appears even in the Jahvistic patriarchal legends (Gen. xii. 3, xxii. 18, xxvi. 4; etc.), and persists to the preaching of the latest prophets (cf. Isa. xlii. 1 ff., lxvi. 19 f.; Mal. iii. 12; etc.). And in historical fact, the religion which found its fulfilment in Jesus Christ was Israel's unique contribution to the spiritual heritage of the nations. We have ascribed this peculiar development of spiritual life to the "religious genius" of Israel. That, however, is but the other—

the human—side of Divine inspiration. Israel was a nation "that had the Spirit." And the Spirit worked in the hearts of the people in as "divers portions and divers manners" as the broadening light of Revelation.

But even in its most intense manifestation—the ecstatic inspiration of the prophets—the "possession" by the Spirit involved no suppression or limitation of the human personality. The most inspired prophets yet remained true men, with clear-cut individualities of character, who felt and thought and spoke according to their own peculiar genius, and, with all their breadth of outlook on the things of God and man, still lived and moved within the horizon of their own people and time. Nor did the gift of inspiration confer on the writers of Scripture supernatural knowledge of scientific lore, or authentic understanding of the past history of the nation. Even St. Luke had to depend for his "accurate" record of the things concerning the faith on the testimony of "eye-witnesses" (i. 1 ff.). The touch of the Spirit is felt, indeed, in the matchless sincerity and dignity of the Scriptures. Men "possessed" by the Spirit of God experienced a quickening and elevation of all their powers, which illuminated and consecrated the products of their pen, as well as their moral and religious character. But in itself inspiration is directly related to Revelation. The "inspired" men are those to whom the self-revealing God "unveiled" His character and purpose from more to more. And in this rests their peculiar authority.[1]

[1] Cf. Driver's admirable definition: "By inspiration I suppose we may understand a Divine afflatus which, without superseding or suppressing the human faculties, but rather using them as its instruments, and so conferring

As little did the gift of inspiration cut the people from its roots. In its social and moral traditions, and even in the fundamental institutions of religious faith and cultus, as we have seen, Israel was a typical Semitic nation, with the essential characteristics of such. And the "inspiration" of the people caused no violent break with the past. Its effect was seen rather in the gradual transformation of the old traditions under the influence of the ever expanding religious and moral ideals that were the light of Israel. The earlier literature shows many "survivals" of lower ethnic beliefs and practices. Only in the later stages of the history of Israel is the spirit of "ethical monotheism" found fully to interpenetrate the people's life and thought, and thus to prepare the soil for the sowing of the "Bread of life."

On a just view of their character, therefore, the early chapters of Genesis find a true place in the inspired record of God's Revelation. These chapters contain the myths and legends of ancient Israel, partly infiltrations from other nations, and partly the indigenous traditions of the people. But, as we have emphasised (pp. 83 ff.), myths and legends are neither frauds, nor even conscious literary inventions. They are the natural and spontaneous products of the popular imagination, at a certain stage of national development, and reflect the nation's primitive, or (we may say) childish, thoughts about God and the world and human life and destiny, together with their glimmering recollections of their long-

upon Scripture its remarkable manifoldness and variety, enabled holy men of old to apprehend, and declare in different degrees, and in accordance with the needs and circumstances of particular ages or occasions, the mind and purpose of God" (*The Higher Criticism: Three Papers*, p. 33).

distant past, all clothed in the garb of fresh and glorious poetry. As such, they are worthy of the Spirit of Him who is the Father of the child, as well as the man, and to whom "nothing that is truly human is alien," for the perfect revelation of His glory was in human form. Indeed, God could reveal Himself to primitive peoples in no other way than by stooping to their childish fancies, and thus gradually elevating their thoughts to higher things. The peculiar glory of the early traditions of Genesis is that they are such "clear-shining reflections of God, and His ways with men" (p. 94). Through the naïve forms of myth and legend, as we have seen, the essential elements of vital religion are here bodied forth with a clearness and purity, and with an inward suggestiveness, that find their parallel in no other nation. In these early traditions, indeed, the germs are already present which needed only to be unfolded to reach their perfect fulfilment in Christ. They are, therefore, an integral part of the Divine process of Revelation, one of the "divers portions and divers manners" in which God spoke to the fathers in olden time. Through what may seem to those who have forgotten the childhood of their faith such weak and "beggarly" elements, God revealed to His simple-minded children in early days His righteousness and purity, His hatred of sin and His inflexible purpose to destroy its evil power, but likewise His grace and mercy, His tender compassion for the erring, and His yearning desire for their highest welfare. Thus the light had already dawned, that was to shine "more and more unto the perfect day."

In their connection with the self-revealing purpose of God appears the inspiration of these Scriptures.

They yield us, indeed, no final and authoritative account of the making of the world and man, and the beginnings of human history. Nor do they bear us, by a single flight, to the highest planes of moral and spiritual thought and life. They incorporate various elements that are naïve and crude, survivals of heathen conceptions of the Godhead, with other raw materials derived from foreign sources (cf. pp. 38 ff.). But the chastity and reverence and spiritual insight which characterise even the earliest traditions of Genesis show them to be the inheritance of a "God-inspired" people. The breath of God has breathed upon them, and given them life from above. Even where the raw materials belong to common Semitic tradition, or are derived from alien sources, we have seen how the religious genius of Israel—which is but the human expression of the Spirit of God — has "recast the whole, refining what was coarse and unworthy, and actually transforming their dross into gold." Thus the myths and legends of Genesis have been "born again by the creative power of the living, self-revealing God" (Riehm). They are, therefore, "differently indeed, yet as truly inspired by the living God as the words of the prophets or the hymns of the psalmists."[1]

[1] The quotations on this page are from an article by the author on "The Religious Value of the Narratives in Genesis" in the *Hibbert Journal*, Oct. 1905, pp. 178 f.

APPENDICES.

A.—*TRANSLATION OF THE HEBREW DOCUMENTS.*[1]

THE JAHVISTIC NARRATIVE (J).

The Making of the World and Man. The Temptation and Fall.

ii. 4*b* In the day that Jahveh made earth and heaven,
5 there was no shrub of the field yet in the earth, nor had any herb of the field as yet sprung up, for Jahveh had not sent rain upon the earth, and there
6 was no man to till the ground. But a stream rose from the earth, and watered the whole face of the ground.
7 Then Jahveh moulded a man out of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and the man became a living being.
8 And Jahveh planted a garden in Eden, in the East, and there He placed the man whom He had moulded.

[1] The arrangement of the documents is based on the Analysis in Chapter I. Divergences from the *Textus receptus* are explained in the Critical Notes. Later additions and variants are enclosed within square brackets. Words or clauses inserted to complete the sense are in round brackets.

9 And Jahveh caused to spring from the ground
every kind of tree that is pleasant to the sight and
good for food, and in the midst of the garden the
10 tree of the knowledge of good and evil. And a
river went out from Eden to water the garden.
[And from thence it was divided, and became four
11 heads. The name of the first is Pishon: that is the
river which encircleth the whole land of Havilah,
12 where there is gold—and the gold of that land is
good—likewise bdellium and the shoham stone.
13 And the name of the second river is Gihon: that
is the one which encircleth the whole land of Cush.
14 And the name of the third river is Hiddekel, the
one which floweth East of Asshur. And the fourth
15 river is Euphrates.] And Jahveh took the man,
and settled him in the garden, to till it and to
keep it.
16 And Jahveh laid a command upon the man, saying:
"Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat,
17 save of the tree which stands in the midst of the
garden, of which thou must not eat: for in the day
thou eatest of it, thou shalt surely die.
18 And Jahveh said: "It is not good that the man
should be alone. I will make him an helper to
19 match him." So Jahveh moulded besides out of the
ground all kinds of beasts of the field and birds
of heaven, and brought them to the man, to see
what he would call them; and whatever the man
should call each of them, that was to be its name.
20 Thus the man gave names to all the birds of
heaven, and to all the beasts of the field; but
(among them all) there was found for the man no
21 helper to match him. Then Jahveh caused a deep
sleep to fall upon the man, and he slept; and He
took one of his ribs, and closed up the flesh in its
22 place. And Jahveh built the rib which He had

taken from the man into a woman, and brought her
23 to the man. And the man said,

"This at last is bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh;
Woman shall this be called, for this was ta'en from her man."

24 Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife; and they twain shall become one flesh.

25 And they were both naked, the man and his wife, yet felt no shame before one another.

iii. 1 Now the serpent was cunning beyond all the beasts of the field that Jahveh had made. And the serpent said to the woman: "Hath God really said, 'Ye shall not eat of any of the trees of the garden'?"
2 And the women said to the serpent: "Of every tree
3 of the garden we may eat; only of the fruit of the tree which stands in the midst of the garden hath God said: 'Ye shall not eat of it, nor touch it, lest
4 ye die.'" But the serpent said to the woman:
5 "Ye shall certainly not die. The truth is, God knoweth that in the day ye eat of it your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall become as God Himself,
6 knowing good and evil." And when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was lovely to the eyes, and a tree desirable to make men wise, she took of the fruit of it, and ate, and gave also to her husband, and he ate along with her.
7 And the eyes of both of them were opened, and they knew that they were naked, and they sewed fig-leaves together, and made themselves girdles.

8 And they heard the sound of Jahveh walking in the garden at the time of the cool breeze of the day, and they hid themselves, the man with his wife, from the face of Jahveh amongst the trees of the garden.
9 And Jahveh called to the man, and said to him:

10 "Where art thou?" And he said: "I heard the
sound of Thy footsteps in the garden, and I was
afraid, because I am naked, and I hid myself."
11 And He said: "Who told thee that thou art
naked? Hast thou eaten of the tree of which I
12 commanded thee not to eat?" And the man said:
"The woman whom thou gavest (to be) with me,
13 she gave me of the tree, and I did eat." And
Jahveh said to the woman: "What is this that thou
hast done?" And the woman said: "The serpent
14 beguiled me, and I did eat." And Jahveh said to
the serpent: "Because thou hast done this, cursed
art thou from all the beasts of the field; upon
thy belly shalt thou go, and shalt eat dust all the
15 days of thy life. And I will put enmity between
thee and the woman, and between thy seed and
hers; they shall bruise thee on the head, and thou
16 shalt bruise them on the heel." And to the woman
He said: "I will greatly increase thy labour in thy
conception: in hard labour shalt thou bear children;
yet thy desire shall go out to thy husband, and he
17 shall rule over thee." And to the man he said:
"Because thou didst listen to the voice of thy wife,
and didst eat of the tree, concerning which I com-
manded thee, saying, 'Thou shalt not eat of it,'
cursed is the ground because of thee. In hard
labour shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life.
18 Thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth for thee.
19 Yea, in the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread,
until thou return to the ground; for from it wert
thou taken. For dust thou art, and unto dust shalt
23 thou return." Then Jahveh sent him out of the
garden of Eden, to till the ground from which
21 he had been taken. And Jahveh made for the
man and his wife coats of skin, and clothed
them.

Fragments of a parallel account.

ii. 9*b* The tree of life . . . and
iii. 22 And Jahveh said: "Behold, the man is become like one of us, to know good and evil: and now lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree
24 of life, and eat, and live for ever!"—so he drove the man forth, and made him dwell East of the garden of Eden. And he placed cherubim, with a flaming sword that turned every way, to guard the approach to the tree of life.

The Beginnings of Civilisation. Cain and Abel.

iv. 1 And the man knew his wife, and she conceived, and bare Cain, and she said: "I have gotten a
iii. 20 man-child from Jahveh." And the man called the name of his wife Eve, because she was the mother of all living.
iv. 2 And again she bare his brother Abel; and Abel was a shepherd, while Cain was a tiller of the
3 ground. And it came to pass in course of time that Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an
4 offering unto Jahveh. And Abel likewise brought an offering—of the firstlings of his flock. And Jahveh looked with favour on Abel and his offering;
5 but on Cain and his offering He looked with no favour. And Cain was very angry, and his face fell.
6 And Jahveh said unto Cain: "Why art thou
7 angry? And why is thy face fallen? If thou doest rightly, should it not be lifted up? But if thou doest not rightly, then sin coucheth at the
8 door." Then Cain said to Abel his brother: "Let us go to the field." And it came to pass, when they were in the field, that Cain rose up against

9 Abel his brother, and slew him. Then Jahveh
said to Cain: "Where is Abel thy brother?"
And he said: "I know not. Am I my brother's
10 keeper?" And He said: "What hast thou done?
The voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto Me from
11 the ground. And now cursed art thou from the
ground, which hath opened her mouth to receive thy
12 brother's blood of thy hand. When thou tillest
the ground, it shall not henceforth yield her strength
unto thee. A fugitive and a wanderer shalt thou
13 be in the earth." And Cain said unto Jahveh:
14 "My punishment is too great to bear. Behold,
Thou hast driven me this day from off the face of
the ground, and from Thy face shall I be hidden,
and I must be a fugitive and a wanderer in the
earth, and it shall come to pass that whosoever
15 findeth me shall kill me." And Jahveh said:
"Therefore, if any man slay Cain, vengeance shall
be exacted sevenfold." And Jahveh placed a sign
on Cain, so that no one finding him should kill him.
16 And Cain went out from the presence of Jahveh,
and dwelt in the land of Nod.

17 And Cain knew his wife, and she conceived, and
bare Enoch. [And he built a city, and called the
name of the city after the name of his son, Enoch.]
18 And to Enoch was born ʿIrad, and ʿIrad begat
Mehujael, and Mehujael begat Methushael, and
19 Methushael begat Lamech. And Lamech took him
two wives: the name of the one was ʿAdah, and the
20 name of the other Zillah. And ʿAdah bare Jabal:
he was the father of all that dwell in tents and deal
21 with cattle. And the name of his brother was
Jubal: he was the father of all that handle the harp
22 and pipe. And Zillah, she also bare (children),
Tubal, who was the father of all who do smith's work
in bronze and iron, and the sister of Tubal, Naamah.

23 And Lamech said to his wives, 'Adah and Zillah:
"List to my voice, wives of Lamech;
I pray ye, give ear to my words.
A man's life, in sooth, for a wound of me
I have, and a youth's for a bruise.
24 If Cain be avenged seven times,
Then Lamech seventy and seven."

Birth of Noah.

v. 28*c* (And Lamech knew Zillah (?) his wife again, and she conceived, and bare) a son, and
29 he called his name Noah, saying: "This one shall comfort us for our work, even for the hard labour of our hands." (And Noah was an husbandman.)

The Sons of God and the Daughters of Men.

vi. 1 Now it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the ground, and daughters
2 were born to them, that the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair, and they took to themselves wives of all whom they chose.
4 And so, in those days, when the sons of God went in to the daughters of men, and they bare children unto them, the Nephilim came to be on the earth—these were the heroes who were the men of renown of old.
3 And Jahveh said: "My spirit shall not abide for ever in man, because of their transgression. He is but flesh; and his days shall be an hundred and twenty years."

Noah and his Vineyard. The Curse of Canaan.

ix. 20 Now Noah the husbandman was also the first
21 to plant a vineyard. And he drank of the wine
and became drunk, and lay uncovered in the
22 centre of his tent. And Canaan saw the nakedness
of his father, and he went forth, and told it to his
23 brethren without. And Shem and Japheth took
a cloak, and put it on their shoulders, and went
backwards, and covered the nakedness of their
father; and their faces were turned backward, so
that they saw not the nakedness of their father.
24 And Noah awoke from his wine, and was aware
25 what his youngest son had done to him. And he
said:

"Canaan be cursed!
The meanest of slaves let him be to his
brethren.
26 Jahveh bless the tents of Shem,
And let Canaan be his slave!
27 God enlarge the bounds of Japheth;
His dwelling be the tents of Shem,
And let Canaan be his slave!"

The Tower of Babel.

xi. 1 Now the whole earth was one tongue and one
2 language. And it came to pass, as they journeyed
in the East, that they found a deep plain in the
3 land of Shinar, and dwelt there. And they said
one to another: "Come now, let us bake bricks,
and burn them thoroughly." And the bricks
served them as stones, while they had bitumen
4 for mortar. And they said: "Come now, let us
build us a city, and a tower with its top in the

heavens, and let us make us a name of renown,
lest we be scattered over the face of all the earth."
5 And Jahveh went down to see the city and the
6 tower which the sons of men did build. And
Jahveh said: "Behold, one people are they, and one
tongue have they all; and this is but the be-
ginning of their doings, and henceforth will they
be restrained from nothing which they purpose to
7 do. Come now, let us go down, and there make
babble of their tongue, so that they may not
understand each other's speech." (And they did
8*b* so.) And the men stopped building the city.
9 Therefore was its name called Babel, because there
Jahveh made babble of the tongue of all the earth.
And from thence Jahveh scattered them over the
face of all the earth.

The Family-tree of Abram.

x. 21*a* (Now Shem was) the father of all the
24 sons of Eber. (Shem begat Arpachshad), and
Arpachshad begat Shelah, and Shelah begat Eber.
25 And to Eber were born two sons: the name of
the one was Peleg, because in his days the
earth was divided, and the name of his brother
was Joktan. (And Peleg begat Reu, and Reu
begat Serug, and Serug begat Terah, and Terah
begat three sons: Haran, Abram, and Nahor. And
Haran begat Lot, and Milcah, and Iscah.
xi. 28 And Haran died in presence of his father
29 Terah in (Haran,) the land of his nativity. And
Abram and Nahor took them wives: the name of
Abram's wife (was) Sarai, and the name of
30 Nahor's wife Milcah, the daughter of Haran. But
Sarai was barren: she had no child.

THE SECONDARY JAHVISTIC ELEMENT (J^2).

The Line of Descent from Adam.

iv. 25 And Adam knew his wife, and she bare a son, and called his name Seth; for, she said, "God
26 hath given me seed." And to Seth also was a son born; and he called his name Enosh. At that time began men to call on the name of Jahveh. . . .

The Flood.

vi. 5 And Jahveh saw that the wickedness of man on the earth was great, and that every device of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually.
6 And Jahveh repented that He had made man on the earth; and He was grieved in His heart.
7 And Jahveh said: "I will blot out man from off the face of the ground; for I repent that I have
8 made him." But Noah found favour in the eyes of Jahveh. . . .

vii. 1 And Jahveh said to Noah: "Go thou, and all thy household, into the ark; for thee (alone) have
2 I found righteous in this generation. And of all clean animals shalt thou take unto thee seven of each kind, the male and his mate, and of animals that are not clean two of each kind, the male and
3 his mate, to keep seed alive on the face of all the
4 earth. For after seven more days I will bring rain upon the earth for forty days and forty nights, and will blot out every existing thing that I have made from off the face of the ground."
5 And Noah did according to all that Jahveh com-
10 manded him. And it came to pass after the seven

days that the waters of the flood came upon the
7 earth. And Noah and all his household went into
the ark, for safety from the waters of the flood.
8 And of all clean animals, seven of each kind, the
male and his mate, and of animals that are not
9 clean two of each kind, the male and his mate,
came unto Noah to the ark, as Jahveh had com-
16*c* manded him. And Jahveh shut the door upon
12 him. Then the rain fell in torrents upon the
17*b* earth for forty days and forty nights. And the
waters increased, and bare up the ark, and it was
22 lifted above the earth. And all in whose nostrils
was the breath of life, of all that were on the dry
23 land, died. Thus Jahveh blotted out every ex-
isting thing that was upon the face of the ground.
Only Noah and those that were with him in the
ark were left.

viii. 6*a* And it came to pass at the end of forty
2 days that the torrent of rain from heaven
3 was restrained, and the waters gradually receded
from the earth. (And the ark rested on a hill in
6*b* the land of . . .) And (after seven days) Noah
opened the window which he had made in the ark,
7 [and he sent out a raven, which went forth hither
and thither until the waters were dried from off
8 the earth], and sent from him a dove, to see
whether the waters were abated from off the face
9 of the ground. But the dove found no resting-
place for the sole of its foot, and returned unto
him to the ark; for the waters were over the face
of all the earth. And Noah put forth his hand,
and took it, and brought it unto him to the ark.
10 And Noah waited other seven days, and again
11 sent forth the dove from the ark. And the dove
came unto him at eventide, and lo! a freshly-
plucked olive-leaf in its mouth. So Noah knew

that the waters were abated from off the earth.
12 And Noah waited yet other seven days, and sent forth the dove; but it came back no more to
13*b* him. Then Noah removed the covering of the ark, and looked, and behold! the face of the ground was dry. . . .
20 Then Noah built an altar to Jahveh, and took of all the clean animals, and offered burnt-offerings
21 upon the altar. And Jahveh smelt the sweet fragrance, and Jahveh said in His heart: "I will no more curse the ground for man's sake, nor will I any more destroy every living creature, as I have
22 done. So long as the earth lasts, seedtime and harvest, cold and heat, summer and winter, and day and night shall not fail."

The Descendants of Noah.

ix. 18 Now the sons of Noah, that came out of the ark, were Shem and Ham and Japheth:
19 these three were the sons of Noah, and of them was the whole earth overspread.
x. 1*b* And to them were sons born after the flood. (To Japheth . . .). (And to Ham . . .).
8 And Cush begat Nimrod: he was the first mighty
9 ruler in the earth. [He was a mighty hunter before Jahveh: therefore the proverb runs, "Like
10 Nimrod a mighty hunter before Jahveh."] And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of
11 Shinar. And from that land he went to Asshur, and built Nineveh, and Rehoboth-'Ir, and Calah,
12 and Resen, between Nineveh and Calah. And
13 Mizraim begat Ludim, and Anamim, and Lehabim,
14 and Naphtuhim, and Pathrusim, and Casluhim,

15 and Caphtorim. And Canaan begat Zidon, his
16 firstborn, and Heth [the Jebusite also, and the
17 Amorite and the Girgashite, the Hivite and the
18*a* ʿArkite and the Sinite, the Arvadite and the
19 Zemarite and the Hamathite]. And the border
of the Canaanite extended from Zidon as far as
Gerar, and from Sodom and Gomorrah to Leshah
18*b* (Laish). But afterwards were the families of the
Canaanites spread abroad.

21 And to Shem, the eldest brother of Japheth,
25 were sons born also . . . And to Eber were born two
sons: the name of the one was Peleg, because in
his days the earth was divided, and the name of his
26 brother was Joktan. And Joktan begat Almodad,
27 and Sheleph, and Hazarmaveth, and Jerah, and
28 Hadoram, and Uzal, and Diklah, and Abimael,
29 and Sheba, and Ophir, and Havilah, and Jobab:
30 all these were the sons of Joktan. And their
dwelling extended from Mesha as far as Zephar,
towards the mountain of the East.

THE PRIESTLY DOCUMENT (P).

i. 1 In the beginning God fashioned the heavens and
the earth.

2 Now (before it was fashioned into shape) the
earth was waste and void, and darkness lay
upon the face of the abyss, and the spirit of God
3 brooded over the face of the waters. Then God
said: "Let there be light," and the light appeared.
4 And God saw that the light was good, and God
divided the light from the darkness. And God

called the light Day, and the darkness He called Night. And there was evening, and there was morning—one day.

Then God said: "Let there be a dome in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters." And it was so: God made the dome, and divided the waters that were below the dome from the waters that were above the dome. And God called the dome Heaven. And God saw that it was good. And there was evening, and there was morning—a second day.

Then God said: "Let the waters that are below the heavens be gathered together into one gathering-place, so that the dry land may appear." And it was so: the waters that were below the heavens were gathered together into their gathering-place, and the dry land appeared. And God called the dry land Earth, and the gathering together of the waters called He Seas. And God saw that it was good.

Then God said: "Let the earth put forth verdure, herbs yielding seed after their kind, and trees bearing fruit in which their seed is contained—after their kind." And it was so: the earth put forth verdure, herbs yielding seed after their kind, and trees bearing fruit in which their seed is contained—after their kind. And God saw that it was good. And there was evening, and there was morning—a third day.

Then God said: "Let there be lights in the dome of heaven, to give light upon the earth, and to divide day from night; and let them be for signs, and to mark seasons and days and years." And it was so: God made the two great lights, the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night; likewise the stars. And God placed them in the dome of heaven, to give light upon the

18 earth, and to divide day from night. And God saw
19 that it was good. And there was evening, and there was morning—a fourth day.

20 Then God said: "Let the waters swarm with swarming things, even living creatures, and let fowl fly above the earth in the face of the dome of
21 heaven." And it was so: God fashioned the great sea-monsters, and every living thing that moves—with which the waters swarm—after their kind, and every winged fowl after its kind. And God saw that
22 it was good. And God blessed them, and said: "Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the waters in the seas,
23 and let fowl multiply on the earth." And there was evening, and there was morning—a fifth day.

24 Then God said: "Let the earth bring forth living creatures after their kind, cattle and creeping things and beasts of the earth after their kind."
25 And it was so: God made the beasts of the earth after their kind, and cattle after their kind, and everything that creepeth on the ground after its kind. And God saw that it was good.

26 Then God said: "Let us make man in our image, and let them rule over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of heaven, and over the cattle, and over every beast of the earth, and over every
27 creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth." And it was so: God fashioned man in His image; male
28 and female fashioned He them. And God blessed them, and said: "Be fruitful, and multiply, and fill the earth, and subdue it; and rule ye over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of heaven, and over the cattle, and over every beast of the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the
29 earth." And God said: "Behold I have given you every herb yielding seed which is upon the face of

all the earth, and every tree in which is the fruit of the tree bearing seed—to you shall they be for
30 food. And to every beast of the field, and to all the fowl of heaven, and to everything that creepeth upon the earth, in which is a living soul, even to
31 them have I given every green herb for food." And God saw everything that He had made, and behold it was very good. And there was evening, and there was morning—a sixth day.

ii. 1 Thus the heavens and the earth and all their host were finished. And on the seventh day
2 God rested from all His work that He had made.
3 And God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it, because that on it He had rested from all His work that He had fashioned and made (so well).

v. 1 This is the Book of the Generations of Adam.

In the day when God fashioned man—in the
2*b* likeness of God He made him—God called his name
3 Adam. And Adam lived an hundred and thirty years, and begat a son in his likeness, and called his
4 name Seth. And Adam lived after he begat Seth eight hundred years, and begat sons and daughters.
5 And all the days that Adam lived were nine hundred and thirty years; and he died.

6 And Seth lived an hundred and five years, and
7 begat Enosh. And Seth lived after he begat Enosh eight hundred and seven years, and begat sons and
8 daughters. And all the days of Seth were nine hundred and twelve years; and he died.

9 And Enosh lived ninety years, and begat Kenan.
10 And Enosh lived after he begat Kenan eight hundred and fifteen years, and begat sons and
11 daughters. And all the days of Enosh were nine hundred and five years; and he died.

12 And Kenan lived seventy years, and begat
13 Mahalalel. And Kenan lived after he begat
Mahalalel eight hundred and forty years, and
14 begat sons and daughters. And all the days of
Kenan were nine hundred and ten years; and
he died.
15 And Mahalalel lived sixty-five years, and begat
16 Jared. And Mahalalel lived after he begat Jared
eight hundred and thirty years, and begat sons
17 and daughters. And all the days of Mahalalel
were eight hundred and ninety-five years; and he
died.
18 And Jared lived an hundred and sixty-two
years, and begat Enoch. And Jared lived after he
19 begat Enoch eight hundred years, and begat sons
20 and daughters. And all the days of Jared were
nine hundred and sixty-two years; and he died.
21 And Enoch lived sixty-five years, and begat
22 Methuselah. And Enoch lived after he begat
Methuselah three hundred years, and begat sons
23 and daughters. And all the days of Enoch were
24 three hundred and sixty-five years. And Enoch
walked (all these years) with God. And he was
found no more; for God had taken him.
25 And Methuselah lived an hundred and eighty-
seven years, and begat Lamech. And Methuselah
26 lived after he begat Lamech seven hundred and
eighty-two years, and begat sons and daughters.
27 And all the days of Methuselah were nine hundred
and sixty-nine years; and he died.
28 And Lamech lived an hundred and eighty-two
30 years, and begat (Noah). And Lamech lived after
he begat Noah five hundred and ninety-five years,
31 and begat sons and daughters. And all the days
of Lamech were seven hundred and seventy-seven
years; and he died.

32 And Noah was five hundred years old; and Noah begat Shem, Ham, and Japheth.

vi. 9 This is the History of Noah and his Family.

Noah was a man blameless in his generation:
10 Noah walked with God. And Noah begat three
11 sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth. But the earth was corrupt before God, and the earth was filled with
12 wickedness. And God beheld the earth, and lo! it was corrupt; for all flesh had corrupted his way
13 upon the earth. And God said to Noah: "I am resolved to make an end of all flesh; for the earth is filled with wickedness through them, and behold
14 they corrupt the earth. Make thee an ark of gopher wood—all full of rooms shalt thou make the ark; and thou shalt pitch it within and without with
15 asphalt. And this is how thou shalt make it: three hundred cubits the length of the ark, fifty cubits the breadth of it, and thirty cubits the height.
16 A roof shalt thou make for the ark, and on a hinge shalt thou turn it up and down; and the door of the ark shalt thou set in the side of it. With lower, second and third stories shalt thou make it.
17 And I, behold! I am bringing a flood upon the earth, to destroy all flesh in which is the breath of life, from under heaven. Everything that is in the
18 earth shall die. But I will establish My covenant with thee; and thou shalt go into the ark, thou and thy sons, and thy wife and thy sons' wives with
19 thee. And of every living creature, two of all kinds shalt thou bring into the ark, to keep them alive:
20 they shall be male and female. Of the fowl after their kind, and of the cattle after their kind, and of all creeping things after their kind, two of all sorts

21 shall come unto thee. And do thou take unto thee
of all food that is eaten, and gather it unto thee,
and it shall be for food for thee and for them."
22 And Noah did so: according to all that God com-
manded him, so did he.

vii. 6 And Noah was six hundred years old when
11 the flood came upon the earth. In the six hun-
dreth year of Noah's life, in the second month, on
the seventeenth day of the month, on this day were
all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and
13 the windows of heaven opened. On the self-same
day entered Noah, and Shem and Ham and Japheth,
the sons of Noah, and the wife of Noah, and his
14 sons' three wives with him, into the ark. And
every wild beast after its kind, and all cattle after
their kind, and every creeping thing that creepeth
upon the earth after its kind, and every fowl after
15 its kind came unto Noah to the ark, two by two,
16 of all flesh in which is the breath of life. And they
that went in, went in male and female, as God had
commanded them.

17*a* And the flood came upon the earth. And the
18 waters prevailed, and increased greatly upon the
earth. And the ark went upon the face of the
19 waters. And the waters prevailed exceedingly
upon the earth, and all the high mountains that
20 were under the heavens were covered. Fifteen
21 cubits upwards did the waters prevail. And all
flesh died that moved upon the earth, both birds
and cattle and wild beasts, and all the swarming
things that swarmed upon the earth, and every
24 man. And the waters prevailed upon the earth
an hundred and fifty days.

viii. 1 Then God remembered Noah and all the wild
beasts and cattle and fowl and creeping things that
2*a* were with him in the ark. And God closed the

fountains of the deep and the windows of heaven.
1*b* And God likewise caused a wind to pass over the
3*b* earth, so that the waters fell. Even at the end
of the hundred and fifty days the waters began
4 to decrease. And (on this same day, that is) in
the seventh month, on the seventeenth day of the
month, the ark rested on (one of) the mountains
5 of Ararat. And the waters went on decreasing
till the tenth month: in the tenth month, on the
first day of the month, were the tops of the
13*a* mountains seen. And in the six hundred and first
year (of Noah's life), the first month, the first day
of the month, the waters were dried up from off
14 the earth. And in the second month, on the
twenty-seventh day of the month, the earth was
altogether dry.

15 Then God spake unto Noah, saying: "Go forth
16 from the ark, thou and thy wife, and thy sons and
17 thy sons' wives with thee. And every living thing
that is with thee, of all flesh, both fowl and cattle,
and every creeping thing that creepeth upon the
earth, do thou bring forth with thee, that they may
18 swarm in the earth." And Noah went forth, and
his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives with him;
19 and every wild beast, and all cattle and all fowl,
and every creeping thing that creepeth upon the
earth, after their families, went forth with him from
the ark.

ix. 1 And God blessed Noah and his sons, and said
to them: "Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the
2 earth. And let the fear of you and the dread
of you be on all the beasts of the earth, and on all
the fowl of heaven, and on all creatures with which
the ground teemeth, and on all the fish of the sea.
3 Behold! into your hand have I given every moving
thing that is alive: to you shall they be for food—

to use in like manner with the green herb have I
4 given you all. Only flesh with its life in it shall
5 ye not eat. And truly your own blood will I require: whether it be at the hand of beast or of man, of all alike will I require it—even every man's
6 life at his fellow's hand. Whoso sheddeth man's
7 blood, by man shall his blood be shed. Ye therefore, be fruitful and multiply, and people the earth, and rule over it."

8 And God spake further unto Noah and his sons,
9 saying: "And I, behold! I establish My covenant
10 with you, and with your seed after you, and with all the living creatures that are with you, both fowl and cattle and beasts of the earth, even with
11 all that went out of the ark. Yea, I do establish My covenant with you, that no more shall all flesh be cut off by the waters of the flood, and no more
12 shall there be a flood to destroy the earth." And God said: "This is the sign of the covenant that I make between Me and you, and every living creature that is with you, for perpetual generations:
13 My bow do I set in the clouds, to serve as the sign of the covenant that binds me and the earth.
14 And it shall be that, when I bring a cloud over the
15 earth, and the bow appears in the cloud, I will remember the covenant that holds between Me and you and every living creature; and the waters shall no more become a flood to destroy all flesh."

28 And Noah lived after the flood three hundred
29 and fifty years. And all the days of Noah were nine hundred and fifty years; and he died.

x. 1*a* Now these are the Generations of the sons of Noah—Shem, Ham and Japheth.

2 The sons of Japheth: Gomer, and Magog, and

Madai, and Javan, and Tubal, and Meshech, and
3 Tiras. And the sons of Gomer: Ashkenaz, and
4 Riphath, and Togarmah. And the sons of Javan:
Elishah, and Tarshish, and Kittim, and Rodanim,
5 of whom were "the isles of the nations" divided.
These are the sons of Japheth, in their different
lands, each according to his tongue, after their
families, in their nations.

6 And the sons of Ham: Cush, and Mizraim, and
7 Put, and Canaan. And the sons of Cush: Seba,
and Havilah, and Sabtah, and Raamah, and
Sabtekah. And the sons of Raamah: Sheba and
20 Dedan. These are the sons of Ham, after their
families, according to their tongues, in their lands,
in their nations.

22 And the sons of Shem: Elam, and Asshur, and
23 Arpachshad, and Lud, and Aram. And the sons
of Aram: Uz, and Hul, and Gether, and Mash.
31 These are the sons of Shem, after their families,
according to their tongues, in their lands, in their
nations.

32 These are the families of the sons of Noah,
according to their generations, in their nations;
and of these were the nations divided in the earth
after the flood.

xi. 10 And these are the Generations of Shem.
Shem was an hundred years old, and begat
11 Arpachshad; and Shem lived after he begat
Arpachshad five hundred years, and begat sons
and daughters.

12 And Arpachshad lived thirty-five years, and
13 begat Shelah; and Arpachshad lived after he
begat Shelah four hundred and three years, and
begat sons and daughters.

14 And Shelah lived thirty years, and begat Eber;
15 and Shelah lived after he begat Eber four hundred and three years, and begat sons and daughters.
16 And Eber lived thirty-four years, and begat
17 Peleg; and Eber lived after he begat Peleg three hundred and seventy years, and begat sons and daughters.
18 And Peleg lived thirty years, and begat Reu;
19 and Peleg lived after he begat Reu two hundred and nine years, and begat sons and daughters.
20 And Reu lived thirty-two years, and begat
21 Serug; and Reu lived after he begat Serug two hundred and seven years, and begat sons and daughters.
22 And Serug lived thirty years, and begat Nahor;
23 and Serug lived after he begat Nahor two hundred years, and begat sons and daughters.
24 And Nahor lived twenty-nine years, and begat
25 Terah; and Nahor lived after he begat Terah one hundred and nineteen years, and begat sons and daughters.
26 And Terah lived seventy years, and begat Abram, and Nahor, and Haran.

27 And this is the History of Terah and his Family.
Terah begat Abram, Nahor, and Haran; and
31 Haran begat Lot. And Terah took Abram his son, and Lot, the son of Haran, his son's son, and Sarai his daughter-in-law, his son Abram's wife, and brought them forth from Ur of the Chaldees to go to the land of Canaan; and they came to
32 Haran, and dwelt there. And the days of Terah were two hundred and five years; and Terah died in Haran.

CRITICAL NOTES.

J.—ii. 4ff. The collocation יהוה אֱלֹהִים is found only in Ex. ix. 30*b* (a secondary element in J) and a very few late passages besides. It is most probably due simply to the editor who united P and J, to identify the *Jahveh* of J with the *God* of P. The tendency is carried much further by LXX (cf. iv. 6, 15, 26, v. 29, vi. 3, etc.). There is no real support for the ingenious suggestion of Budde (*Bibl. Urgesch.* pp. 233 f.), that the combination implies the fusion of two separate accounts of the temptation, the name *Jahveh* belonging to the primary source J, and *Elohim* reflecting the religious view of J^2 (cf. iv. 25 f.).

7. עָפָר: grammatically correct, as accus. of material; but the play on the words אָדָם and אֲדָמָה demands that the two should be closely connected. The insertion is doubtless due to the proverb in iii. 19.

On ver. 9*b* see pp. 7 f.

10 ff. The mention of all these geographical and antiquarian details is strange in such a context. They not merely stand in contrast to J's vague sense of the locality of Eden (ii. 8), but interrupt the flow of the narrative in a manner hardly in keeping with its direct and simple literary style. Accordingly, the great majority of modern scholars, after Ewald, regard vv. 10–14 as a later "erudite" insertion, in the style of J^2 (cf. x. 8 ff.), and ver. 15 as a redactional link, connecting the insertion with the original narrative. We are disposed, however, to retain vv. 10*a* (on the river watering the "garden of Jahveh," cf. Gen. xiii. 10) and 15 (whose phraseology seems too characteristic for a mere redactional link) as authentic parts of the narrative.

15. Rd. לְעָבְדָהּ וּלְשָׁמְרָהּ, גַּן being masc.

17. Rd. וּמֵעֵץ אֲשֶׁר בְּתוֹךְ־הַגַּן, as in iii. 3.

19. Ins. עוֹד before, and אֶת־ after, מִן־הָאֲדָמָה (Sam., LXX). Omit נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה, an explanatory gloss to לוֹ, which yields a false gender, besides a redundancy too harsh for Hebrew style.

20. הַבְּהֵמָה וּל: doubtless an insertion intended to harmonise J's classification (ver. 19) with P's (i. 24 ff.). For לְאָדָם read לֶאָדָם, the generic name being characteristic of the primary narrative (cf. vv. 7, 8, 15, etc.). The simplest solution of the difficulty in ver. 20*b* is to read נִמְצָא for מָצָא. The change may have been due to the desire to avoid the anthropomorphism (cf. Holz.). The dative is supported by all the Versions.

23. The play is much finer if we read מֵאִישָׁהּ (Sam., LXX, Sam. T., and Onk.).

24. Ins. prob. שְׁנֵיהֶם after וְהָיוּ (LXX, Pesh., Matt. xix. 5, and other N.T. passages; cf. Sam.'s וְהָיָה מְשֻׁנֵיהֶם). The word has fallen out prob. because of its recurrence in ver. 25.

iii. 1. Ins. הַנָּחָשׁ after וַיֹּאמֶר (LXX, Pesh.).

2. Rd. prob. מִכָּל־עֵץ (LXX; cf. ver. 1), the MT. resulting from the attraction of ver. 3.

6. The suspicious *pathaḥ* bef. the *Ṣôph paṣûq* has already drawn the attention of the Massoretes. Sam. and LXX rd. plur. וַיֹּאכְלוּ. But the point is that the man *also* ate. We should perhaps transpose the words and read וַיֹּאכַל עִמָּהּ (so Saad.).

14. Here too מִכָּל־הַבְּהֵמָה וּ has been inserted to harmonise with P's classification. The serpent does not really belong to the genus "cattle" (cf. ver. 1).

16. At the beginning ins. וְ (Sam., LXX, Pesh.; cf. ver. 17). We should prob. also read the normal forms הֲרִיוֹנֵךְ (Sam.; cf. Ruth iv. 13 and Hos. ix. 11) and עִצְּבוֹן (Sam.; cf. vv. 17 and 29). עֶצֶב is nowhere else found in this sense.

17. Rd. וְלָאָדָם (cf. ii. 20).

18*b* is rather a feeble anti-climax. Prob. the clause

is a gloss either to תֹּאכְלֶנָּה or to לֶחֶם תֹּאכַל, a general phrase for "finding sustenance" (cf. Amos vii. 12), which was taken literally. This clause being omitted, ver. 18*a* provides a suitable *parallelismus* to אָרוּרָה הָאֲדָמָה בַּעֲבוּרֶךָ, and ver. 19*a* to the closing phrase of ver. 17, ver. 19*b* being the natural conclusion of the curse.

In vv. 20 ff. some rearrangement is necessary. Ver. 23 is the natural sequel to the curse in vv. 14–19, while vv. 22, 24 represent the parallel tradition (cf. p. 8). Ver. 21 would suitably follow ver. 23, as the mitigation of the punishment. But ver. 20 is quite out of place in this context. The verse, however, has all the appearance of an authentic element, and would find a fitting position after iv. 1, the woman deriving the name of "the mother of all living" from her having given birth to the first man-child.

21. Rd. prob. לָאָדָם (cf. ii. 20).

24. Ins. prob. אֹתוֹ after וַיֹּשֶׁב and וַיָּשֶׂם after עֵדֶן (LXX).

iv. 1. Rd. prob. מֵאֵת־יהוה (Onk., Saad.). But the corruption may be more deep-seated.

4. וּמֵחֶלְבֵהֶן: an awkward addition in so easy a narrative as J. The word may be due to a priestly-minded editor or reader, who sought thus to make Abel's sacrifice fulfil all legal righteousness (cf. Lev. viii. 16 ff.; Num. xviii. 17; etc.).

7a is difficult, but the MT. yields a better sense than any of the suggested emendations. *7b*, however, has no real significance in this context. It was most prob. a marginal variant to iii. 16, which found its way into the wrong column of the roll.

8. Ins. נֵלְכָה הַשָּׂדֶה (Sam., LXX, Pesh., Vulg.). In ver. 8*b* rd. prob. עַל־, the MT. being due to the attraction of the אֶל־ in the line above.

15. LXX, Theod., Symm., and Pesh. rd. לֹא כֵן, "nay, not so." But then כִּי or כִּי אִם should follow. The MT. is supported by Sam., Onk., Aq., and Saad.

16. קִדְמַת־עֵדֶן: an evident geographical gloss, to bring Nod into relation with Eden, with which it has no real connection (cf. p. 6).

17*b* presents various difficulties. The subj. ought normally to be the person just mentioned, *viz.* Enoch. With this would best agree the name of the city, which would naturally be called after its actual founder. The context shows, however, that Cain is the subj. intended. This raises the further difficulty that the subj. of the previous predicates is not Cain, but his wife. If we retain the words in the body of the text, we must either alter כְּשֵׁם בְּנוֹ to כְּשֵׁמוֹ, thus making Enoch the subj. (so Budde, *Bibl. Urg.* pp. 122 f.), or insert קַיִן after וַיְהִי, a simpler and more natural solution. But we have still to face the grave difficulty of the introduction of city-building in a record of desert civilisation, and especially the attribution of the founding of the city to the firstborn son of the first man. In ch. xi. Babel is evidently regarded as the first city, and the story implies that a considerable population was already found journeying on the earth. We follow Gunk. and Holz., therefore, in relegating the notice to an annotator who wished to connect the city of Enoch with the patriarch.

18. Rd. prob. מְחוּיָאֵל both times.

20. Ins. prob. כָּל־ after אֲבִי, as in vv. 21 f. The close of the verse appears to be mutilated, מִקְנֶה standing very awkwardly as a second obj. of יֹשֵׁב. LXX offers the reading אָהֳלֵי מִקְנֶה (cf. 2 Chron. xiv. 14), which is accepted by several scholars. But this reading seems too mechanical for the context. It is easier to suppose that the partic. קֹנֶה has dropped out through a fault of the eye before its cognate מִקְנֶה. For its insertion, too, we have the authority of both Pesh. and Saad. This gives an excellent text and meaning.

22. קַיִן, "smith": prob. a gloss. (LXX and Josephus have *Θόβελ* alone.) Its omission leaves a much finer

assonance. The words immediately succeeding are evidently corrupted. The best solution is to read הוּא הָיָה אֲבִי instead of לְטֻשׁ, the latter word being regarded as a marginal gloss (interpreting חֹרֵשׁ as "hammerer" or "smith"), which crept into the text, displacing the original commencement of the sentence (cf. Holz., who, however, suggests that חֹרֵשׁ was the gloss to an original לְטֻשׁ). The phrase "he was the father of" is plainly needed here, as in the two previous verses. The corruption is very old, the MT. being presupposed in all the Versions, though LXX shows an approach to the amended text.

v. 28. Bef. בֵּן ins. words like וַיֵּדַע לֶמֶךְ עוֹד אֶת־צִלָּה אִשְׁתּוֹ וַתַּהַר וַתֵּלֶד (cf. iv. 1).

29. For יְנַחֲמֵנוּ LXX has יְנִיחֵנוּ, which is accepted by Ball. But the more difficult reading deserves the preference. The concluding phrase "because of the ground, etc." is most prob. an explanatory gloss to מֵעִצְּבוֹן יְ', derived fr. iii. 17. At the close of the verse we should prob. add the clause וְנֹחַ הָיָה אִישׁ אֲדָמָה, the def. art. אִישׁ הָאֲדָמָה in the sequel (ix. 20) presupposing such a notice.

vi. 4. וְגַם אַחֲרֵי־כֵן is the evident gloss of a reader who remembered Num. xiii. 33 (cf. Well., *Comp.* p. 398). But prob. the verse has suffered further dislocation (cf. Budde, *Bibl. Urg.* pp. 37 ff.). The simplest rearrangement is perhaps to begin the verse with וּבָנִים הָהֵם, inserting the phrase הַנְּפִילִים הָיוּ בָאָרֶץ after לָהֶם. The closing explanation would then find its appropriate place.

ix. 22. חָם אֲבִי: a clear instance of interpolation, to reconcile J's tradition with the parallel account in J^2 (cf. Well., *Comp.* p. 14). After אָבִיו ins. prob. וַיֵּצֵא (LXX).

26. Prob. omit וַיֹּאמֶר. The curse and blessings are really one (cf. Holz.). According to the present text, Shem is blessed indirectly through his God—a refinement too subtle to be original in a writer like J. The happiest emendation is that of Graetz (*Emendationes*, p. 1): בָּרֵךְ יהוה אֱלֹהֵי שֵׁם.

xi. 6. LXX rds. הֵחֵלּוּ. But the more difficult word is to be preferred.

6 f. In the original form of the tale, Jahveh must have returned (to the place whence He came) to report what He had seen, and then He and His angels went down to confound men's language.

8. Sam. and LXX ins. וְאֶת־הַמִּגְדָּל after הָעִיר. This, however, is a mere pedantic addition, שָׁמָּה in ver. 9 implying only הָעִיר. It is even possible that in ver. 5 the Mass. וְאֶת־הַמִּגְדָּל is a secondary element. For though the tower is no doubt a leading feature in the city, the latter itself occupies the full attention of the narrator.

The repetition of vv. 8*a* in 9*b* arouses suspicion, the two clauses being evident variants. The notice is more appropriate in ver. 9, its occurrence in the previous verse unduly precipitating the natural sequence of events. We omit ver. 8*a*, then, as a marginal alternative to 9*b*.

x. 21*a*, 24 f. The original Shem line in J may be reconstructed as follows: שֵׁם הוּא הָיָה אֲבִי כָל־בְּנֵי עֵבֶר: שֵׁם יָלַד אֶת־אַרְפַּכְשַׁד וְאַרְפַּכְשַׁד יָלַד אֶת־שֶׁלַח וְשֶׁלַח יָלַד אֶת־עֵבֶר: וּלְעֵבֶר . . . יָקְטָן: וּפֶלֶג יָלַד אֶת־רְעוּ וּרְעוּ יָלַד אֶת־שְׂרוּג וּשְׂרוּג יָלַד אֶת־תֶּרַח וְתֶרַח יָלַד אֶת־הָרָן וְאֶת־אַבְרָם וְאֶת־נָחוֹר: וְהָרָן יָלַד אֶת־לוֹט וְאֶת־מִלְכָּה וְאֶת־יִסְכָּה:

xi. 28. בְּאוּר כַּשְׂדִּים: no doubt a redactional gloss, to harmonise J with P. Probably בְּהָרָן stood here originally, that being "the land of Abram's nativity" in J (cf. xii. 1; etc.).

29. אֲבִי מִלְכָּה וַאֲבִי יִסְכָּה: prob. a redactional gloss, supplying notices cut out in process of editing (cf. *supra*).

J².—iv. 25. After כִּי ins. אָמְרָה (LXX). The words "for Cain slew him" are impossible in the mouth of Eve. They are evidently an editorial explanation. But the phrase "another" instead of "Abel" is itself suspicious. The word שָׁת means not "replace," but simply "place" or "give," Seth being the "given" of God (cf. Exeg. Notes).

The phrase, together with עוֹד above, has been inserted to mark out the Seth line as a new race of mankind, independent of the Cainites (cf. Budde, *Bibl. Urg.* pp. 155 ff.).

26. LXX rds. οὗτος ἔλπισε = הוּא הֹחִל, Vulg. *iste cœpit* = הוּא הֵחֵל. The text presupposed in LXX is, no doubt, a corruption of the latter, which yields an easy construction and a good sense. But its very difficulty is an argument for the originality of the MT. After ver. 26 the Seth line of J^2 has been broken off, the line being found in full in P.

vi. 7. אֲשֶׁר בָּרָאתִי and הַשָּׁמַיִם . . . מֵאָדָם: no doubt redactional additions in the style of P. In the Pentateuch בָּרָא is found only in P, while such minute specialisations as מֵאָדָם וג׳ are quite after the manner of P, but would be too pedantic for the Jahvistic writer. Between vi. 8 and vii. 1 the instructions to build the ark have fallen out, P's version having these in full.

vii. 2. Rd. שְׁנַיִם שְׁנַיִם (Sam., LXX, Pesh.).

3*a*: Also a redactional addition in style of P, whose phraseology appears, *e.g.*, in זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה. LXX and Pesh. expand the text still further.

Ver. 10 is the natural introduction to ver. 7. The verses have apparently been transplaced in the process of redaction. וּבָנָיו . . . אִתּוֹ: another specialisation in style of P. Rd. simply וְכָל־בֵּיתוֹ, as in ver. 1.

Vv. 8 f. also show redactional expansions in style of P. But prob. the nucleus belongs to J^2. We might read the sentence (following hints fr. Sam., LXX, and Pesh.): וּמִן־הַבְּהֵמָה הַטְּהוֹרָה שִׁבְעָה שִׁבְעָה אִישׁ וְאִשְׁתּוֹ וּמִן־הַבְּהֵמָה אֲשֶׁר אֵינֶנָּה טְהוֹרָה שְׁנַיִם שְׁנַיִם אִישׁ וְאִשְׁתּוֹ בָּאוּ אֶל־נֹחַ אֶל־הַתֵּבָה כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יהוה אֶת־נֹחַ:

Vv. 12, 16 f. show signs of dislocation. The original order was prob. vv. 16*c*, 12, 17*b*.

22. Rd. וְכֹל (LXX). Omit רוּחַ, a marginal gloss to נִשְׁמַת, after the usage of P (cf. vi. 17, vii. 15).

23. After וַיָּמַח ins. the necessary subj. יהוה, which has fallen out by accident. מֵאָדָם . . . הָאָרֶץ: another redactional insertion after P (cf. vi. 7).

The source has suffered dislocation also at the beginning of ch. viii. Rd. prob. vv. 6*a*, 2, 3*a*, 6*b* (cf. Well., *Comp.* pp. 5f.). Bef. ver. 6*b* insert words like וַתְּנַח הַתֵּבָה בָּהָר בְּאֶרֶץ . . וַיְהִי מִקֵּץ שִׁבְעַת יָמִים, the first clause having been omitted because of ver. 4 (P), and the second crushed out because of its resemblance to ver. 6*a*. This reading is simpler, as well as more easily explained, than Budde's וַיְחַל נֹחַ שׁ' יָמִים (*Bibl. Urg.* p. 272). Ver. 8 is the natural sequel to ver. 6*b*. Ver. 7 is most prob. an addition to the sending of the doves, inserted by a reader who knew the two traditions (cf. Babyl. Version, col. iii. 37 ff.), and wished to make the account more complete (cf. Holz., Gunk., etc.). LXX seeks a smoother context by harmonising insertions. In vv. 10 and 12 rd. also prob. וַיְחַל.

After ver. 13*b* the account of their leaving the ark has been omitted because of P's full narrative.

20. וּמִכֹּל הָעוֹף הַטָּהוֹר: another addition in style of P.

21. As an explanation of Jahveh's refraining to curse the ground any more for man's sake, כִּי יֵצֶר וג' has no real meaning. God would thus be frankly accepting the desperate condition of His creatures. The clause is most prob. an epexegetic gloss (fr. vi. 5) to בַּעֲבוּר הָאָדָם (Holz.).

22. Sam. rds. עַד, "unto all the days of the earth," as if in answer to the question "how long"? Sam., LXX, Pesh., and Vulg. omit the conjunction bet. the different pairs.

ix. 18. וְחָם . . . כְּנָעַן: a redactional addition, to relate the notice with the story in vv. 20 ff. (cf. Well., *Comp.* p. 14).

x. 1*b*. The whole of Japheth's line, and the beginning of Ham's, have fallen out of J^2.

Ver. 9: a parallel to ver. 8. No doubt the Assyrian rulers were also "mighty hunters"; but the הוּא clearly introduces a separate notice, not a mere sequel to ver. 8.

12. הִיא הָעִיר הַגְּדוֹלָה: prob. a gloss fr. Jonah i. 2, iii. 2 f., pointing to Nineveh, not to the complex of the four cities, as Holz., Gunk., etc., hold.

14. פְּלִשְׁתִּים . . . אֲשֶׁר: a note that should really apply to כַּפְתֹּרִים, not to כַּסְלֻחִים (cf. Amos ix. 7). The phrase was prob. the marginal gloss of a reader who remembered Amos ix. 7, which afterwards found its way into the text, but in the wrong position.

Vv. 16–18*a* are open to various objections. Too much stress ought not, perhaps, to be laid on the sing. numbers, though they are strange in this context. Of the nations enumerated, however, the four Canaanite names occur in various connections (Gen. xv. 19 ff.; Ex. iii. 8, 17; etc.), as recognised secondary additions. The presence of הָאֱמֹרִי in a Jahvistic narrative makes the section doubly suspicious. Moreover, the Phœnician cities mentioned in vv. 17 f. all fall outside of the bounds of Canaan as sketched in ver. 19 (cf. Well., *Comp.* p. 15). They are evidently, then, a later insertion here.

Ver. 18*b* reads strangely *before* the definition of the original boundaries of Canaan. The notice would come well *after* ver. 19. Probably the two sentences have exchanged places. Or ver. 18*b* may have been merely a marginal note, which found its way into the text—in a somewhat awkward position.

Ver. 19 has evidently suffered considerable corruption. עַד־עַזָּה is no doubt a marginal variant to בְּאָכָה גְרָרָה, Gaza and Gerar being situated in the same neighbourhood. This gives a clear boundary on the W. side. וְאַדְמָה וּצְבִיִם is prob. an expansion of סְדֹמָה וְעֲמֹרָה (after xiv. 2; Deut. xxix. 22). If we regard בְּאָכָה as a marginal variant for עַד, which displaced an original וּמִן when it found its way into the text, and if, with Well., *Comp.* p. 15, we

read לֵשָׁה or לֵשֶׁם (a local form for לַיִשׁ, Dan), instead of לָשַׁע,—thus וּמִן סְדֹמָה וַעֲמֹרָה עַד לֵשָׁה,—we should have a clear boundary line on the East as well.

After ver. 21 the steps from Shem to Eber have been omitted.

28. וְאֶת־עוֹבָל: prob. a variant to וְאֶת־אוּזָל (cf. LXX). Its omission would give us *twelve* Arabian tribes, which would make them parallel with the twelve tribes of Israel.

P.—i. 1. בְּרֵאשִׁית: the reading certified by LXX (*ἐν ἀρχῇ*) and all the other Versions, as also by the transliterations *Βρησιθ* (Origen), and *Bresith* (Jerome), though the marginal readings *Βαρησηθ* and *Βαρησεθ* are found (Field, *Hex.* p. 7).

6. Ins. וַיְהִי כֵן at close of this verse, instead of ver. 7 (cf. LXX).

7. Ins. at close וַיַּרְא אֱלֹהִים כִּי טוֹב (LXX), as in vv. 4, 10, 12, etc. The intrusion of וַיְהִי כֵן has prob. displaced the phrase. We need not seek for more recondite reasons, like the Jews of Origen's time (cf. Ball, p. 46).

9. For מָקוֹם rd. מִקְוֵה (LXX *συναγωγήν*). The def. art. in מִקְוֵה הַמַּיִם (ver. 10) presupposes the existence of the same word in the previous verse. Bet. vv. 9 and 10 ins. וַיִּקָּווּ הַמַּיִם מִתַּחַת הַשָּׁמַיִם אֶל־מִקְוֵיהֶם וַתֵּרָא הַיַּבָּשָׁה: (LXX). The formal symmetry of the chapter demands the insertion.

11. After זֶרַע ins. לְמִינֵהוּ (LXX; cf. ver. 12). For לְמִינוֹ prob. rd. the same form (cf. ver. 12). Bef. עֵץ ins. וְ (Sam., LXX, Pesh., Vulg., Saad., and a few MSS.; cf. ver. 12). We should prob. omit the first פְּרִי (cf. ver. 12), though it is found in all the Versions. In this connection it is redundant and mars the style, and might easily have slipped in through the influence of the פְּרִי just following. (The phrase עֵץ פְּרִי is found elsewhere only in Ps. cxlviii. 9.) אֲשֶׁר זַרְעוֹ־בוֹ should be read immediately after עֹשֶׂה פְּרִי (cf. ver. 12). If לְמִינוֹ be regarded as originally a marginal variant to לְמִינֵהוּ, we could readily imagine its slipping into

the text (in the wrong place), and thus displacing the fuller form. עַל־הָאָרֶץ likewise disturbs the context somewhat harshly. The phrase is prob. a marginal gloss or variant, which has invaded the text (cf. ver. 12).

12. We should no doubt read וַתּדְשֵׁא, as in ver. 11 (cf. Ball). The two forms might easily be confused.

14. After הַשָּׁמָיִם ins. prob. לְהָאִיר עַל־הָאָרֶץ וּ (Sam., LXX, cf. ver. 17).

Ver. 15 (though found in Sam. and LXX) is very probably a rewriting, or marginal variant, of the beginning of ver. 14—to supply the above-noted omission (cf. Holz.). LXX adds "to rule over the day and over the night" (cf. vv. 16, 18) for still greater completeness; but this is prob. an arbitrary addition.

Instead of the present text in ver. 18*a*, we should prob. rd. simply לְהַבְדִּיל בֵּין הַיּוֹם וּבֵין הַלַּ', as in ver. 14. The division "between light and darkness" (cf. ver. 4) is quite out of place here, while the לִמְמְשֶׁלֶת is suspicious after לְמֶמְשֶׁלֶת (ver. 16). Perhaps the phrase of ver. 4 was ringing in the scribe's ear, and led him to introduce it falsely here. Then the "ruling over day and night" was added to make good the omission of day and night (cf. Holz. p. 8).

20. Ins. at close וַיְהִי כֵן (LXX), as in vv. 4, 6, 10, etc.

21. We shd. prob. read the sing. form לְמִינֵהוּ, instead of לְמִינֵיהֶם, which is nowhere else found.

24. Rd. prob. the simple form חַיַּת (Sam.; cf. vv. 25, etc.).

26. כִּדְמוּתֵנוּ, which cannot stand in this abrupt connection, is prob. an explanatory gloss, intended to soften the paganism felt to be implied in בְּצַלְמֵנוּ (elsewhere used mainly of an idol), which has crept into the text (cf. Haupt in Ball, p. 46). If, however, we retain the word we shd. ins. וְ (Sam., LXX, Saad.). Towards the close rd. וּבְכָל־חַיַּת הָאָרֶץ (Pesh.). At close, ins. וַיְהִי כֵן instead of in ver. 30.

27. The redundancy in this verse is too strong even for P. The LXX overcomes the fault by the simple

omission of בְּצַלְמוֹ. This suggestion is followed by Holz., Gunk., etc. But the use of the sing. אֹתוֹ in reference to "man" (which is always coll. plur. in this ch.), and the sudden change from sing. to plur. in the last part of the verse, still present a grave difficulty. If we regard the clause בְּצֶלֶם אל׳ בָּרָא אֹתוֹ as a marginal insertion fr. v. 1 (where the sing. is in perfect order), we should escape both difficulties. In that case the insertion will have taken place before the time of LXX, who tried to escape the most obvious difficulty in the simplest way.

28. After הַשָּׁמַיִם ins. וּבַבְּהֵמָה (LXX, Pesh.); for חַיָּה rd. חַיַּת הָאָרֶץ (LXX *καὶ πάσης τῆς γῆς*, as in ver. 26); and after that rd. וּבְכָל־הָרֶמֶשׂ הָרֹמֵשׂ (LXX),—all as in ver. 26. The verse as it stands in MT. is plainly mutilated.

29. Prob. rd. עֵץ for הָעֵץ (Sam.), as befits the *general* connotation of the word "tree" (cf. עֵשֶׂב, above). The style would be further improved by omitting עֵץ after פְּרִי.

30. Ins. prob. נָתַתִּי after חַיָּה (Ew., Dill., Kitt., Holz., etc.), though it has no support from the Versions, the only change in them being LXX's insertion of *καί* = וְ.

ii. 2. The MT. can only mean that God "finished" His work on the seventh day, which is contrary both to the letter and to the spirit of the other verses. Sam., LXX, and Pesh., therefore, with a right instinct, alter to הַשִּׁשִּׁי. Budde, Kuenen, and Ball accept this reading. But the alteration is so evidently intentional, *viz.* to avoid the appearance of work on the Sabbath day, as to arouse persistent suspicion. We must seek, therefore, to overcome the difficulty in another way. Well. (*Comp.* p. 188) has already noted the redundancy in vv. 2 f., and proposed to omit vv. 2*b* and 3*a*, making God to "finish" His work on the seventh day. This, as we have said, is contrary to the tenor of the other verses, and destroys the real force of the motive given for the sanctification of the Sabbath. But the simple omission of ver. 2*a*—וַיְכַל אֱלֹהִים as a variant to וַיְכֻלּוּ and עֲשָׂה . . . בַּיּוֹם as variant to the almost

identical words in ver. 2*b*—both obviates the difficulty of the MT. and preserves the full force of the Sabbatic motive.

4*a*. The appearance of אֵלֶּה תוֹלְדוֹת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהָאָרֶץ here is surprising. Elsewhere the writer invariably uses the formula as a superscription to the following section (cf. v. 1, vi. 9, x. 1; etc.). It is hypercritical, indeed, to maintain that אֵלֶּה cannot have this backward reference. It may not be found thus with תוֹלְדוֹת, but it has such a reference, *e.g.*, in x. 20, 31 f. The occurrence of the formula, however, immediately before the similar formula in v. 1—in the original sequence of P—is highly suspicious, all the more as the reference in the one case is backward, and in the other forward. On this ground many modern scholars (Dill., Gunk., Oxf. Hex., etc.) would place ii. 4*a* bef. i. 1, as the original superscription to the narrative of Creation. If we accept Rashi's view of the syntax of i. 1 ff. (see Exeg. Notes), the words would suitably stand in such a connection (cf. the very similar structure of v. 1 f.). The chapter would thus also be brought into greater harmony with the rest of the book. But on the traditional view, which we follow, the formula is rather a parallel to i. 1 than a real heading for the chapter. Both can hardly have formed part of the original text. Stade (*Bibl. Theol. des AT.* p. 349) omits i. 1, in which he finds a pointed contrast to the latter Messianic age. But this verse forms so much more impressive an introduction to the stately chapter, and yields, moreover, so much more natural a transition to the following verses—its introduction as a later variant, too, is so difficult to account for—that we have little hesitation in deciding to the contrary effect. It is even very doubtful whether תוֹלְדוֹת can be legitimately used in the context of i. 1–ii. 4*a*. Although used occasionally in an extended sense, the word always implies descent *from*, not ascent *to* (cf. note on v. 1). In the record of Creation it would mean just the opposite,

viz. "the upward steps in the orderly development of the heavens and earth." We follow Holz., therefore, in regarding the formula here as a redactional insertion, after the general usage of P, intended to secure a better link with the Jahvistic narrative in ii. 4*b* ff.

v. 1 f. appear overladen. The simple omission of ver. 2*a* (as a redactional insertion fr. i. 27 f.) obviates the difficulty. The plural is out of place here, and the sing. in perfect harmony with the line of descent through the eldest son (ctr. i. 27). But we should also prob. rd. בְּצַלְמֵם for בִּדְמוּת in ver. 1 (cf. i. 27; ix. 6), and שְׁמוֹ for שְׁמָם (because of the consistent use of the sing.) in ver. 2. We should also prob. omit בְּיוֹם הִבָּרְאָם, as a variant to בְּיוֹם בְּרֹא אֱלֹהִים.

3. After וַיּוֹלֶד ins. בֵּן, which is necessary to the sense (cf. Holz., Ball). Omit בִּדְמוּתוֹ (cf. note on i. 26) and read בְּצַלְמוֹ, with many MSS. and Jewish citations (Ball).

4. For וַיִּהְיוּ יְמֵי rd. prob. וַיְהִי (Saad. and the ordinary MSS. of Pesh., though the oldest known codex, Brit. Mus. Ald. MSS. 14425, acc. to Ball, p. 51, supports MT.).

From ver. 18 onwards LXX and Sam. show marked divergences from MT. Of the differences, those in LXX are evidently arbitrary, and merit no attention. Sam.'s figures, however, offer an interesting problem. In general these represent (1) a decreasing length of life in the patriarchs, and (2) the death of Jared and Lamech, as well as Methuselah, in the year of the Flood, evidently as victims of the catastrophe. On the ground that we have here a more consistent carrying through of the theme of an ever-increasing domination of sin, these figures are regarded by Budde, who is followed by Dill., Holz., Gunk., and other scholars, as deserving of preference. But we have no real proof that P's patriarchal scheme was governed by such a theory. Nor is the dating of the death of three of the patriarchs, in our judgment, evidence of originality. It seems, rather, to show arbitrary

manipulation of the figures. The recognised superiority of the figures of MT. in xi. 10 ff. is further proof presumptive that here, too, we have the better text; while some of Sam.'s readings can easily be explained as corruptions of the MT. In vv. 18 and 25, Sam. may be right in its omission of וּמְאַת שָׁנָה, which would bring the figures into closer harmony with those immediately surrounding. Apart from this, we regard the MT. as most nearly representing the original text.

22. The text as it stands would imply that Enoch began his walk with God only after the birth of Methuselah. LXX (Luc.) and Vulg. ins. וַיְהִי bef. אַחֲרֵי. This is undoubtedly original, and in keeping with the general scheme of the chapter. But the phrase וַיִּתְהַלֵּךְ ח' אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים is still out of place in this context. It is a summing up of Enoch's whole life, which appears most appropriately in the position it occupies in ver. 24. The original reading in ver. 22 was prob. the simple וַיְהִי חֲנוֹךְ, which fell out accidentally, the hiatus being then filled up by some later scribe from the text in ver. 24.

23. Rd. prob. וַיִּהְיוּ (Sam., LXX, and some 40 MSS.), as throughout the chapter.

28. After וַיּוֹלֶד ins. נֹחַ.

31. Rd. prob. וַיִּהְיוּ (see note on ver. 23).

vi. 9. The abrupt collocation of צַדִּיק תָּמִים can hardly be original (cf. on i. 26). Sam. joins them by וְ. But prob. צַדִּיק is a gloss fr. J (cf. vii. 1). תָּמִים is characteristic of P (cf. xvii. 1, etc.).

10. In the expanded story of Noah and his family, this notice is quite in place, even after ver. 30.

13*b*. The text is impossible. The Versions give us little help, their renderings (LXX *καί*; Vulg. *cum*; Onk. עִם = "with"; Sam. T. מִן; etc.) being all mere makeshifts. The simplest, and prob. the best, alteration is הִנְנִי for הִנֵּם.

14. Repeat קִנִּים (Philo).

16. The most satisfactory reading is Gunkel's וְעַל־ אַמָּה תְּגַלְּנוּ.

17. מַיִם: prob. an explanatory gloss to the foreign word הַמַּבּוּל (cf. vii. 6, where LXX omits מַיִם). For לְשַׁחֵת rd. prob. Hiphil לַשְׁחִית (Sam.; cf. ver. 13).

19. Rd. הָחַיָּה (Sam.; cf. vii. 14). מִכֹּל־בָּשָׂר: prob. an explanatory gloss to מִכֹּל־הַחַיָּה. Repeat שְׁנַיִם (LXX, Pesh.; cf. vii. 15). For אִתְּךָ (introduced through influence of the same word in the line above) we should prob. read אוֹתָם.

20. Rd. וּמִכֹּל־ (Sam., Onk., Pesh., and some MSS.). Repeat שְׁנַיִם (cf. ver. 19). לְהַחֲיוֹת has prob. slipped in fr. ver. 19. It is needless in this context, and the change of subj. involved is very awkward.

vii. 6. Omit מַיִם (see note on vi. 17).

11. Here and in viii. 4 LXX has "twenty-seven," no doubt because of viii. 14.

13. Rd. doubtless אֹתוֹ (LXX, Pesh., though here too the Brit. Mus. Cod. follows MT.).

14. We should prob. omit הַחַיָּה (LXX), vv. 14 f. dealing solely with the creatures. כָּל־צִפּוֹר כָּל־כָּנָף: doubtless a gloss to כָּל־הָעוֹף (cf. Ezek. xvii. 23, xxxix. 4; Ps. cxlviii. 10). It is not found in LXX.

16. מִכָּל־בָּשָׂר has prob. slipped in here from the line above. It is quite pointless in this context.

17. אַרְבָּעִים יוֹם: a redactional gloss, to harmonise with J. LXX adds "and 40 nights."

19. LXX omits the second כָּל־, prob. rightly, as הַשָּׁמָיִם is sufficient of itself.

20. וַיְכַסּוּ הֶהָרִים: a redundancy, which weakens the effect of the passage. It is prob. a marginal variant to the first words of ver. 19*b*. The Versions expand the clause still further, in harmony with ver. 19.

viii. 1. We should prob. ins. וְאֵת־כָּל־הָעוֹף וְאֵת־כָּל־הָרֶמֶשׂ (LXX; cf. vii. 14, 21, etc.). The order of vv. 1*b* and 2*a* has prob. been changed to secure greater harmony with J. In the original narrative of P, the drying up of the

fountains comes more naturally before the sending of the wind (cf. Holz.). We ought also prob. to read וַיִּסְכֹּר אֱלֹהִים, in harmony with ver. 1.

3. Rd. prob. the definite הַחֲמִשִּׁים after the notice in vii. 24.

13. After שָׁנָה prob. ins. לְחַיֵּי־נֹחַ (LXX), as in vii. 11.

17. At beginning of verse rd. וְכָל־ (Sam., LXX, Pesh.). Rd. Kethib הוֹצֵא. The closing words are needlessly redundant. LXX omits וְשִׁרְצוּ בָאָרֶץ. These words, however, have too much distinct colour to be the later element. Omit rather הָאָרֶץ . . . וּפְרוּ, the intrusion of which can be easily explained fr. ix. 1.

19. At beginning rd. וְכָל־ (Sam., LXX, etc., with 2 MSS.). The text after הַחַיָּה is evidently confused and mutilated. Rd. וְכָל־הַבְּהֵמָה וְכָל־הָעוֹף וְכָל־הָרֶמֶשׂ הָרֹמֵשׂ עַל־הָאָרֶץ (LXX; cf. Sam. and Pesh.). After יָצְאוּ prob. ins. אִתּוֹ (cf. vv. 17 f.).

ix. 2. Bef. בְּכָל ins. וּ (Sam., LXX, etc., with 2 MSS.).

Ver. 3 should prob. commence with the last two words of ver. 2, which are meaningless in their present context. The verse would be further improved by the insertion of וְהִנֵּה (which might easily have fallen out after הַיָּם) before בְּיֶדְכֶם. For נְתַתִּי, too, rd. נָתַתִּי (Sam., LXX, etc.), and prob. ins. אֶת־ bef. כָּל־רֶמֶשׂ.

4. דָּמוֹ: an evident gloss to נַפְשׁוֹ.

6*b*: hardly God's words. Probably the explanatory gloss of a reader.

7. Rd. prob. וְשִׁרְצוּ (Sam., LXX, etc., with some MSS.). For the second רְבוּ, which can hardly be correct, rd. prob רְדוּ (cf. i. 28). So Ball, after Nestle.

10. Rd. וּבִבְהֵמָה (Sam., LXX, etc.). The second אִתְּכֶם is strange in a defining clause like בָּעוֹף וג׳. Prob. it should be read after יְצֹאֵי ה׳ (cf. viii. 16 f.). לְכָל־חַיַּת הָאָרֶץ (not found in LXX): doubtless a variant to בְּכָל־חַיַּת הָאָרֶץ.

11. LXX places the עוֹד immediately after יִכָּרֵת—a

more suitable position (cf. ver. 11*b*). For לְשַׁחֵת, here and in ver. 15, Sam. rds. לְהַשְׁחִית (cf. on vi. 17).

15. בְּכָל־בָּשָׂר: prob. a variant to כָּל־בָּשָׂר just below, or an insertion fr. next verse, quite out of place here. Sam. rds. אֲשֶׁר אִתְּכֶם, as in ver. 11.

16. Prob. a variant to ver. 15. It can hardly be the sequel to ver. 15, not merely because of the stilted style, but also because of the reference to אֱלֹהִים in the 3rd person, and of the inclusion of man as well as beasts under נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה (ctr. vv. 12 ff.).

17. A shortened repetition of ver. 12—prob. a marginal variant which has come into the text.

x. 2. For מֶשֶׁךְ Sam. rds. מוֹשׁוֹךְ (cf. LXX *Μόσοχ*). This more nearly approaches the actual name.

4. For דֹּדָנִים rd. רַדָנִים (Sam., LXX, and some MSS.).

5. Bef. בְּאַרְצֹתָם insert אֵלֶּה בְנֵי יֶפֶת, as in vv. 20 and 31.

31. Perhaps we should rd. בְּגוֹיֵהֶם, as in vv. 5 and 20.

xi. 10. Rd. prob. וְאֵלֶּה (LXX and some MSS.; cf. x. 1).

In this section also there are differences in the numbers bet. MT., Sam., and LXX. As a rule, the two latter simply add 100 years to each of the patriarchs, down to Nahor inclusive. A practice so arbitrary shows that MT. is more original. Further, at the close of each notice, Sam. adds וַיָּמֹת, and LXX the full formula as it appears in ch. v. These are evidently secondary additions, as MT. would not have consistently excluded such notices. It is very probable, however, that the full formulæ were found in the סֵפֶר תּוֹלְדוֹת from which P drew (cf. pp. 31 f.), and that he omitted them for brevity.

שְׁנָתַיִם וגו׳: doubtless a later gloss, in the interests of a theory of strict purity within the ark. The note is quite inconsistent with the chronology of the rest of P (cf. with v. 32, vii. 11, ix. 28).

12. Between Arpachshad and Shelah LXX inserts Kenan—doubtless from v. 9 ff.

17. The reading of LXX—"370 years"—is more in harmony with thec ontext, and may well be original (cf. Sam.'s 270). The reading of MT. may have been influenced by the אַרְבַּע וּשְׁלֹשִׁים שָׁנָה of the line above.

31. To secure greater completeness, Sam. adds Milcah.

Rd. prob. וַיּוֹצֵא אוֹתָם (Sam., LXX, Vulg.). This is better than Pesh.'s וַיֵּצֵא אִתָּם.

32. Sam. rds. 145, thus making Abram (see xii. 4) leave Haran after his father's death (cf. Acts vii. 4).

EXEGETICAL NOTES.

J.—The syntax of ii. 4*b*–7 has given rise to much discussion. By modern scholars like Dill., Holz., and Gunk., ver. 4*b* is regarded as the time-note to the main clause in ver. 7, vv. 5 f. being treated as parenthetic. This is no doubt grammatically possible. But it is open to serious objection. From the point of view of style, the sentence seems too involved for a writer like J. Especially at the beginning of the narrative, it is hardly tolerable. Further, it involves a distinct contradiction between the parenthesis and the main clause. The condition of things described in vv. 5 f. extends over a continuous period, while the formation of man in ver. 7 is represented as taking place at one definite point of time,—on this reading of the context at the time when earth was made. There is even a contradiction between the two halves of the parenthesis. In ver. 5 the earth is still dry and barren; in ver. 6 the change to fertility has already taken place. Such a difference could hardly be contained within the limits of a single parenthetic sentence. We follow Knobel and Strack, therefore, in regarding ver. 4*b* as the time-note to the main clause in ver. 5, and treating vv. 6 f. as independent, progressive sentences. Examples

of *vav* conversive after a temporal phrase instead of a regular protasis are fairly frequent (cf. iii. 5; Ex. xvi. 6; 1 Kings xiii. 31; Isa. vi. 1; etc.). Instances with the *vav* attached to the subj., as here, are rare; but examples are found in Ex. xxv. 9; Lev. vii. 16; Num. ix. 17; and Josh. iii. 3,—chiefly, it must be admitted, passages with imperative force, and all Deuteronomic or P. If this construction be impossible for an early writer like J, we should hold, with Well. (*Prol.*[3] p. 312), that some words have fallen out in process of redaction.

4*b*. בְּיוֹם: a simple temporal, *at the time when* (cf. ver. 17, iii. 5; etc.). אֶרֶץ וְשָׁמַיִם: this order only here and Ps. cxlviii. 13. The Jahvist was more interested in the earth, as the favourite haunt of Jahveh, as well as the scene where the drama of human history was enacted, than in the more distant "heavens." It is even possible that וְשָׁמַיִם is a later insertion in the text, for the sake of greater harmony with P's account of the Creation.

5. הַשָּׂדֶה: the open, uncultivated steppe. הָאֲדָמָה: the tilled ground. שִׂיחַ: the stunted bush growth of the desert. עֵשֶׂב: *herbage*, including grass, corn and vegetables, which formed food for man and beasts—the result of tillage.

As originally made, then, the earth was a rolling desert, on which no rain had yet fallen to produce even the most stunted of growths, and no part of which had yet been reclaimed to make it fruitful soil.

6. אֵד: prob. fr. same root as Babyl. *edû*, flood, meaning "spring" (LXX, Aq., Pesh., Vulg.), or the stream which flows from such. The current rendering "mist" (though possible in the other instance, Job xxxvi. 27) is unsuitable in this context. Mist could hardly be said to spring from the earth, nor would it effectively "water" or "irrigate" the ground. יַעֲלֶה . . . וְהִשְׁקָה: imperfs. of continuous action. The spring rose, sending its waters continually into the stream, which then watered the earth,

and made the desert soil אֲדָמָה, *i.e.* plastic and fertile ground, of which man and animals could be moulded, and on which vegetation could grow. "The whole face of the ground" thus applies only to the part reached by the waters of the stream, which was the only "ground" yet formed. There is no real force, then, in Holz.'s objection (*Kurzer H.-C.* pp. 24 f.) that one small stream could not water "all the world"! The picture is simply that of an oasis in the desert (cf. p. 124).

7. אָדָם fr. אֲדָמָה—a play on words, without etymological authority. The derivation of אָדָם is still quite uncertain. The idea, however, that man is "of the earth earthy," is frequent in the Bible (cf. iii. 19, 23, xviii. 27; Ps. xc. 3, civ. 14; 1 Cor. xv. 47; etc.), and among other nations (cf. the Babylonian records in App. B, pp. 326, 334, 342; the Greek myth of Prometheus fashioning Pandora of earth; the terms γηγενεῖς and γήϊνοι applied to men; etc.).

יָצַר: a word for careful and finished work, used of the potter (Isa. xxix. 16; etc.), of the fashioner of graven images (Isa. xliv. 9 f.; etc.), but especially of God in His creative work (cf. Amos vii. 1; Jer. i. 5; Ps. civ. 26; etc.). The word implies that Jahveh moulds His creatures like a skilful potter, as in Jeremiah's parable (ch. xviii.). The Egyptians, among other nations, had the same conception of the Divine workmanship (cf. the relief in Jeremias, *Das AT. etc.* p. 62, of Chnum moulding men on a potter's wheel).

נִשְׁמַת־חַיִּים: the breath that endows mere flesh with life. As the breath in man is the sign and potency of life (an almost universal idea among primitive peoples), so the breath of God is regarded as its ultimate Cause and Energy (cf. Ezek. xxxvii. 9 f.).

נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה: *i.e.* a living being, equipped for all life's activities. In like manner, Ar. *nafs*, "breath" (regarded as the soul, or vital principle), conveys the idea of com-

plete human personality. In the gloss in ver. 19, as well as in P (i. 20 ff.), the phrase is used of the lower animals as well.

8. גַּן: an enclosed park, like the pleasure-grounds of Oriental kings. This "garden" was the pleasure-ground of Jahveh, in which He used to walk in the cool of the evening (iii. 8). The "garden of Jahveh" or "of God" is referred to also in Isa. li. 3; Ezek. xxviii. 13, xxxi. 8 ff. עֵדֶן: evidently the locality in which the garden was situated, not a noun = "delight," as LXX and Vulg. (ver. 15 and iii. 24) take it. But very probably the name Eden is an ideal one derived fr. עֶדֶן, *delight* (cf. the land of Nod in iv. 16). The derivation fr. Bab. *êdinu*, plain, steppe (Sayce, etc.), is much less appropriate, Eden being not a steppe, but a luxuriant garden. מִקֶּדֶם: *Eastward*, *i.e.* in the east part of the world (cf. iii. 24, xi. 2, xiii. 11). The situation of Eden is thus viewed from the Palestinian standpoint.

9. On the lovely trees of the "garden of Jahveh," cf. Ezek. xxxi. 8 f. עֵץ הַחַיִּים: the tree whose fruit confers immortal life (cf. Prov. iii. 18, xi. 30; etc.). Cf. the "fountain of life" (Prov. x. 11, xiii. 14; etc.). In late Judaism and the N.T. the ideas find fuller development (cf. Enoch xviii. xxiv.; Rev. xxii. 1 ff.). עֵץ הַדַּעַת טוֹב וָרָע: the tree whose fruit brings knowledge of good and evil. The significance of the phrase is discussed in Chap. VII. pp. 156 ff.

10. The river evidently rose in the land of Eden, somewhere outside of the garden, flowed through it, and was divided on leaving. רָאשִׁים, *heads*, *i.e.* the *beginnings* of the rivers. Del. quotes Ar. *ra's en-nahr* of the branching of two rivers from one. We might also compare רֹאשׁ (x. 12) = Assyr. *rêsh êni*, fountainhead. The imperfs. describe continuous action. We are therefore to think of the four rivers as still flowing in the writer's day.

11 ff. Endless controversies have raged round the "Rivers of Eden," and no satisfactory solution need be looked for. Two identifications, at least, seem certain. Hiddekel = Babyl. I-diglat, or Diglat, Pers. Tigra, *i.e.* the Tigris, which flows "east of" Asshur, the old capital of Assyria. Perath = Babyl. Purat or Buratu, *i.e.* the Euphrates. The names of the other two are quite general—Pishon fr. √פּוּשׁ, *spring*, and Gihon fr. √גִּיחַ, *burst forth* (found as the name of a stream near Jerusalem in 1 Kings i. 33 ff.; etc.). If the land of Cush, round (one side of) which Gihon flows, be Ethiopia, as in the general usage of the O.T., then that river must be the Nile. Thus Saadia, LXX (Jer. ii. 18), Josephus, and most of the Church Fathers take it. As the Nile had no specific name in ancient times, being usually described generally as the "river of Egypt" or "the river," the name Gihon might readily be applied to it. And as the "problem of the Nile" baffled the ancient world too (cf. Herod. ii. 19 ff.; Strabo, I. ii. 29), the Hebrews may well have thought of the Nile as flowing from Eden round by Ethiopia to Egypt. As matter of fact, Alexander the Great believed he had found the sources of the Nile in the Indus, because of the crocodiles and beans he saw there (Arrian, VI. i. 2 ff.; Str. XV. i. 25); while, *à propos* of similar stories, Pausanias records the tradition that "the same Nile is the river Euphrates, which was lost in a lake, and re-emerged as the Nile in the remote part of Ethiopia" (II. v. 3 f.). To a nation like Israel, therefore, this idea was no such "wild imagination" as has been asserted (Cheyne, *Traditions and Beliefs*, p. 89). The Pishon raises graver difficulties. The land of Havilah, round which the river flows, is a district in Arabia, prob. west of the Persian Gulf (cf. note on x. 29). This would well agree with the wealth of gold and precious stones ascribed to that land in vv. 11 f. The "gold of Ophir" (a neighbouring Arabian district according to x.

29) was proverbial among the Hebrews. Of the other elements, בְּדֹלַח is usually explained as the aromatic gum *bdellium*, found in Arabia, as well as India, Bactria, Media, and Babylonia (Pliny, xii. 35 f.). But the mention of such a gum alongside of gold and precious stones is peculiar; nor would the comparison of gum with manna (Num. xi. 7) be very apposite. The rendering of Saadia, *pearls*, seems much more appropriate. The best pearls were found in the Persian Gulf, off the E. coast of Arabia (cf. Str. XVI. iii. 7; Pliny, vi. 110; etc.). אֶבֶן הַשֹּׁהַם is doubtless the Assyr. *abnu shâmtu* (mentioned in the *Descent of Ishtar* and the *Gilgamesh Legend*). It is variously explained as onyx, sardonyx, turquoise, and porphyry, in all of which Arabia was rich (cf. Pliny, xxxvii. 23 ff.). In the Gilgamesh legend, too, the hero finds the *shâmtu* stone on the Arabian coast, after he had penetrated the desert Mashu (Tablet ix. col. v. l. 48). By every evidence, therefore, we are pointed to the N.E. coast of Arabia. But no trace is found of a large river flowing round that locality. Josephus and many of the Fathers think of the Indus or some other Indian river. Possibly the writer had heard of such a river, and placed it vaguely in Havilah, India being unknown to the Hebrews until a late age (cf. p. 195).

The latest attempts to identify the rivers do not carry conviction to our mind. Fried. Delitzsch's plausible identification of the Pishon and Gihon with the canals Pallakopas and the modern Shaṭṭ-en-Nil (*Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 68 ff.) lacks confirmation, and is beset by difficulties of its own. Sayce's location of Paradise at the spot where four rivers flow *into* the Persian Gulf (*DB*, i. 643 f.) rests on an interpretation of רָאשִׁים which receives no further support; while the N. Arabian theories of Glaser (*Skizze der Geschichte Arabiens*, ii. 317 ff.) and Hommel (*Anc. Heb. Tradition*,

pp. 314 ff.) lead us away from the elements of certainty in the description. Cheyne's recent "Jerahmeelite" modification of that theory (*EB*, iii. 35 ff.; *Traditions and Beliefs*, pp. 89 f.) involves a wholesale reconstruction of the text.

Taking the verses as they stand, the writer of this section appears to have located the garden of Eden somewhere north of the plain of Babylonia, at the point where the Tigris and Euphrates were believed to flow from one common source; and this was held to be the starting-point also of two other great rivers, the one probably the Nile, the other more uncertain, though possibly an Indian river.

15. The man is made Jahveh's gardener. Thus he is provided not merely with food, but also with healthy occupation and mental interest (cf. p. 149).

16 f. Jahveh is still more concerned about the man's moral well-being. To quicken and develop his moral nature, he sets him this test of obedience (cf. pp. 151 ff.).

17. בְּיוֹם, *so soon as*. The infin. abs. מוֹת תָּמוּת expresses the absolute certainty of the fate. We should not translate *thou shalt become mortal* (Symm. *θνητὸς ἔσῃ*), nor regard man's sorrowful labour as the beginnings of death (Dill. p. 65). A natural writer like J means just what he says: "thou shalt die the death." If the fate did not immediately follow the transgression, this was because Jahveh "changed His mind," and tempered justice with mercy (cf. pp. 120 f., 165).

18. Jahveh now provides for the man's social and emotional nature. עֵזֶר, *help, i.e.* an helper, a companion and fellow-worker. כְּנֶגְדּוֹ: *lit.* "as one over against him," *i.e. corresponding to him, suited to his varied needs.* The word implies higher harmony in difference (ctr. כָּמוֹהוּ, which would imply "absolutely alike").

19. חַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה includes beasts both wild and tame (ctr. P's more restricted use of the term i. 24 f.). The

fish are here omitted, not that they were unfit to be the man's companions (Gunk.), but because they did not come within such a writer's horizon. The absence of fish has been noticed in Arab writers too (cf. Jacob, *Altarab. Bedouinenleben*, pp. 25 f.). The lower animals are moulded by Jahveh of the same material as man, and by the same careful workmanship (יָצַר). In them, too, the "breath" is the power of life (cf. vii. 22), though it is not said that Jahveh "breathed" into them (cf. p. 142).

19*b*. To the Hebrews, as to the other Semites, and primitive peoples in general (cf. Tylor, *Early History of Mankind*, pp. 126 ff.; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, i. 404 ff.), the name expressed the character, and even contained the potency, of the life. Hence "to see what he would call them" means "to see what impression they would make upon him," and thus to discover whether they would prove suitable companions. The man's name for each kind of creature was thus supposed to stamp its character for all time. The writer regards his own language as the original tongue—a common feature in early cosmogonies.

20. The naming of the creatures proved how little suited they were to man's needs. They had not the "correspondence" which would make a true harmony.

23. זֹאת is doubtless the subj. (note the threefold repetition) and הַפַּעַם temporal, *at last* (cf. xxix. 34, xxx. 20; etc.). עֶצֶם מֵעֲצָמַי וּבָשָׂר מִבְּשָׂרִי: a proverbial expression for closest intimacy and union (cf. xxix. 14, xxxvii. 27; Judg. ix. 2; 2 Sam. v. 1). Knobel compares the Arab proverb *huva lizqî*, "he is my side." The naïve idea that the woman was built out of the man's rib arose, no doubt, out of the proverb (cf. pp. 149 f.). מֵאִישָׁהּ = אִשָּׁה: another instance of popular etymology. The play is well brought out in Symmachus' *ἄνηρ—ἀνδρίς*, Vulg. *vir—virago*, and Luther's *Mann*

—*Männin.* By the name he gives his new associate, the man expresses how completely she suits him.

Ver. 24 is prob. a comment of the writer, though in Matt. xix. 5 and 1 Cor. vi. 16 it is quoted as the direct word of God. The verb is prob. jussive. In consequence of the origin of woman from man, a man is to leave his father and mother, and cleave to his wife, etc. The first clause prob. reflects an early matriarchal stage of society (cf. p. 199). The second is usually regarded as a naïve allusion to the sexual relationship of man and woman. Possibly, however, it should be explained simply from the proverbial expressions in ver. 23 and parallels quoted there (cf. especially xxxvii. 27, where Joseph's brethren speak of him as "our brother, our flesh"). It would thus suggest the close union that binds man and his wife—the most tender and intimate of unions. The verse gives no explicit authority for monogamic marriage; but the writer evidently regards that as the normal arrangement (cf. pp. 150, 200).

25. יִתְבֹּשָׁשׁוּ: Hithpal, denoting reciprocal action, *they felt no shame before one another*,—a picture of childlike innocence.

iii. 1. הַנָּחָשׁ: the serpent as an animal, one of the "beasts of the field" (cf. vv. 14 ff.), not the embodiment of Satan. But as many animals and men were regarded by the Semitic peoples as "possessed" by evil spirits, and the serpent was specially connected with the *jinn* by the Arabs (cf. Well., *Reste Ar. Heid.* pp. 152 f.), there may well be the underlying idea that the tempter serpent was "possessed" by a demonic power, and was therefore in a sense an incarnation of evil. It is too far-fetched to find here an allusion to the Bab. dragon Tiamat (cf. note on i. 2).

עָרוּם, *wide-awake*, frequently in Proverbs in the good sense of *wise* or *prudent* (cf. φρόνιμοι ὡς οἱ ὄφεις, Matt. x. 16), here in the evil sense of *wily* or

cunning (cf. 2 Sam. xiii. 3; Job v. 12, xv. 5). By its subtle, insinuating, treacherous nature, the serpent was peculiarly fitted to be the instrument of the temptation. אַף כִּי introduces an astonished question. The serpent further exaggerates the Divine restriction—"Hath God really forbidden you all use of the trees of the garden?"—to arouse the woman's keener interest and resentment. The serpent uses the general word אֱלֹהִים, the personal name *Jahveh* being sacred to Israel (cf. also ix. 26 f.). In reply, the woman naturally repeats the same word.

There is no need for surprise at the serpent's power of speech. In the wonderland of ancient story, the animals have this power equally with men (cf. the Babylonian legends, the Beast-fables, and the folk-lore of all nations). Nor should we ask how the serpent learned God's commandment. The relation of God and His creatures was the common talk of the garden.

4. לֹא placed in unusual order, before the whole phrase, to give a flat contradiction to God's words in ii. 17 (cf. Amos ix. 8; Ps. xlix. 8).

5. "Your eyes will be opened,"—to see and understand things you never did before. כֵּאלֹהִים: prob. "as God Himself," though the rendering of LXX, Vulg., and Pesh., "as gods (*i.e.* godlike beings, angels)," is also possible. The Targums weaken to "like princes"—to avoid the anthropomorphism. The serpent thus attributes the prohibition to God's jealousy, a motive which is actually found in iii. 22, 24 and xi. 5 ff. (cf. p. 117), and appears frequently among the Greeks (cf. Herod. i. 32, iii. 40; Æsch., *Eum.* 172; etc.) and other ancient peoples.

6. לְהַשְׂכִּיל: prob. causative Hiph., *to make one wise.* The Versions, however, render *to be wise.*

7. Their eyes are opened; but the first-fruits of their knowledge is the awakening of the sexual consciousness, and the dawn of shame!

תְּאֵנָה: no doubt the ordinary Palestinian fig, whose leaves were ludicrously small for such a purpose, but on this very account call attention to the pathos of their attempt at concealment. According to Herod. i. 193, there were no figs in Babylonia. This touch, therefore, is Palestinian.

8. The next and most fatal consequence of their eating—a guilty conscience before Jahveh. Hitherto, they had walked with Him in perfect confidence and joy. Now, they are afraid, and hide themselves.

9 ff. Jahveh calls for His friend, as usual, to join Him in His walk. The man excuses himself on the ground of his nakedness,—not of the real root of his evil conscience, his disobedience. Jahveh's suspicions are aroused. Like a skilful cross-examiner, He elucidates the truth, and presses home the sin. The man and his wife both try, like children caught in a fault, to throw the blame on others. By implication, the man even throws the blame on God Himself. At length, however, the truth comes clearly to light.

14. The serpent is not questioned. His guilt is taken for granted.

מִן: partitive, not comparative. The serpent is "singled out by a curse" from all other animals. גָּחוֹן: elsewhere only in Lev. xi. 42. The low degraded existence and manner of subsistence of the serpent are thus regarded as the effect of the curse, though the writer probably did not think of any previous form or mode of life peculiar to the creature. He only explains its present condition. On the punishment of animals, cf. ix. 5; Ex. xxi. 28 f. A serpent that can talk, and lead man into sin, is held to be morally responsible, and therefore a fit subject for punishment. The same idea of animals' responsibility prevails among the Arabs to the present day (cf. Jacob, *Altarab. Beduinenleben*, p. 221).

15. אֵיבָה (elsewhere only in Num. xxxv. 21 f.;

Ezek. xxv. 15, xxxv. 5): the blood-feud. This is to hold between the brood of the serpent (זַרְעֲךָ) on the one hand, and that of the woman (זַרְעָהּ) on the other. By this is meant the successive generations of serpents and men. The Arabs also had a proverb about the treacherous serpent, which bites men without being touched, and has revenge if killed (Maidâni, xxii. 65, quoted in Freytag, *Einl. in das Studium der Arab. Sprache*, p. 191).

יְשׁוּפְךָ (elsewhere only in Job ix. 7, and Ps. cxxxix. 11—where, however, it appears to be a corruption for יְשׁוּכֵנִי): prob. *bruise, crush* (Pesh., Saad., Sam. T.), for which sense Aram. שׁוּף (the usual word in the Targums for *crush*) and Syr. *shaph* = *crawl* (like a reptile) or *crush*, can be cited in support. This aptly expresses man's mode of attack on the serpent, and also suits the context in Job ix. 7. The alternative rendering *snap at* (שׁוּף regarded as = שָׁאַף) is perhaps more appropriate to the second half of the verse, but quite unsuitable for the first. It is inadmissible to translate by different words in the two halves. The writer evidently intends a play on words. And the rendering *bruise* or *crush* shows his intention most successfully.

There is thus no direct Messianic reference in the verse. But if the serpent be "possessed" by an evil spirit or demon, the hostility between man, as the friend of God, and this demonic creature may symbolise the unceasing conflict between the tempted and the tempter, *i.e.* between good and evil. When the O.T. was interpreted in the light of the Messiah, it was natural to find Him here.

16. הַרְבָּה אַרְבֶּה: elsewhere only in xvi. 10 and xxii. 17,—in both cases of numerous posterity, regarded as a blessing from God. In i. 28 (P), too, abundant fruitfulness is part of the Divine blessing. Thus sin turns the blessing into sorrow.

עִצָּבוֹן, *sharp pain.* The pains of childbirth are proverbially the keenest of sufferings (cf. Isa. xiii. 8, xxi. 3; Mic. iv. 9 f.; etc.). In ver. 17 and v. 29 (the only other instances) the same word is used of the hard travail of man's work. Cf. Eng. *labour*, also used in both senses. וְהֵרֹנֵךְ: a virtual hendiadys, *thy sorrow in thy conception.* The word occurs elsewhere only in Hos. ix. 11 and Ruth iv. 13. תְּשׁוּקָתֵךְ (elsewhere only in iv. 7 and Song vii. 11): of sexual passion. In spite of the sorrow of her conception, the woman will always turn with longing desire to her husband. Cf. woman's *πόθον ἀργαλέον*, *painful desire* (Hes., *Works and Days*, l. 66).

יִמְשָׁל־בָּךְ. Man and woman no longer stand in the happy relation of friends and equals, but of lord and subject. Thus we pass from the ideal to the actual relation in Oriental countries, of which this curse is the reflection (cf. pp. 200 f.).

17. The ground shares in the curse, for in the Bible the whole creation is regarded as involved in the weal or woe of men (cf. viii. 21; Isa. xxiv. 3 ff.; Jer. xii. 4, xxiii. 10; etc.). But, of course, the pain falls on man, who now gets so poor a return for all his hard toil. Thus another blessing (ii. 15) is turned into a curse.

18. קוֹץ: the general word for thorns. דַּרְדַּר (only found elsewhere, in combination again with קוֹץ, in Hos. x. 8): Gk. *τρίβολος*, the prickly knapweed.

19. זֵעָה (†), *sweat.* On the hard drudgery of agriculture, cf. 1 Sam. viii. 12; Isa. lxi. 5; Zech. xiii. 5; Job vii. 1 f.; etc. This hardship also is attributed to the primæval curse. On the potency of blessings and curses to determine the whole future, cf. ix. 25 ff., xxvii. 4 ff.; Num. xxii. 5 ff.; etc. The same idea prevailed among other ancient nations.

19*b*. Jahveh does not punish man, as He had threatened, with instant death. He does, however,

withhold the possibility of immortality. Had man not sinned, Jahveh would have continued His breath in him, and he would have lived for ever. Now, as soon as Jahveh removes His breath, he will die, and return to dust (cf. p. 156). We are not to wonder at the change of Jahveh's mind, any more than at His "repenting" that He had made man (vi. 6). Cf. pp. 113 ff.

23. The inevitable consequence is that the guilty pair are removed from the garden of happy ease, to work out the curse on the hard and thorny soil.

21. The consciousness of shame, which had accompanied the awakening of conscience, leads to the use of clothes. Their own attempt to conceal their nakedness had been a pathetic failure. Jahveh then clothes them,—a fine suggestion of His pity and care for His fallen creatures (cf. p. 121).

כָּתְנוֹת עוֹר, *under-garments of hide* (cf. p. 197, n. 1). To make the garments more worthy of God, Onk. reads "garments of glory." The writer is not concerned with the question whence Jahveh got the hides, any more than with the question as to the original appearance of the serpent (cf. note on ver. 14).

22. In this form of the tradition Jahveh appears surrounded by a court of Beings like Himself (cf. i. 26, vi. 1, xi. 6 f.; Isa. vi. 1 ff.; Job i. 6 ff.; etc.). On the relation of these heavenly Beings to God Himself, cf. pp. 99 f. Here, too, the idea of Divine jealousy, suggested by the serpent (ver. 5), does appear, as again in xi. 5 ff. Onk. tries to obviate the "offence" by rendering "has become unique in his generation."

22*b*. The idea probably is, that each time man ate of the fruit, his life would be renewed (cf. the miraculous plant in the *Gilgamesh Legend*, Tab. xi. 285 ff., which had the property of making old men young again). Sickness and death would thus be kept at bay, and man would live for ever. On the difference between the

conception here and in the main narrative in Gen. ii. iii. cf. pp. 155, 160.

24. The precaution clause (ver. 22*b*) is completed by actual deed. Man is driven farther East.

כְּרוּבִים appear in the O.T. in a twofold sense: as guardians of God's presence and sanctuary (Ex. xxv. 18 ff.; 1 Kings vi. 23 ff.; etc.), and as actual bearers of His Person (2 Sam. xxii. 11 = Ps. xviii. 11; Ezek. i. 5 ff.). Here they discharge the former function, guarding the tree of God against His guilty children. In this sense they are to be compared with the winged monsters which guarded the Assyrian palaces and temples (cf. the Greek γρύπες, which guarded the gold of the Hyperboreans). The word is prob., therefore, Assyrian, though its origin has not yet been discovered. As bearers of the Divine Presence, the cherubim were prob. conceived by the Hebrews as personifications of the thundercloud.

לַהַט הַחֶרֶב (†): *the flame* (=*flaming blade*) *of a sword that turned about every way*, conceived of as an "independent penal power" (Del.). This "flame" has aptly been compared with the "lightning-flame of copper" which Tiglath-Pileser I. placed on a house-wall in the ruined city of Ḫunusu, as a warning against any attempt to rebuild the city (*KB*, i. 36 f.). It is prob. a symbol of the lightning, which is likewise associated with God's Presence in Ezek. i. 13 f.

iv. 1. קַיִן: in ver. 22 as generic designation, *smith* (cf. Ar. قَانَ, *to forge*; قَيْن, *smith*): elsewhere as noun = *spear* (2 Sam. xxi. 16), and as the *nomen proprium* of the Kenite tribe (Num. xxiv. 22; Judg. iv. 11). On Cain as the *heros eponymus* of this tribe, cf. pp. 188 ff.

קַיִן fr. קָנִיתִי,—another instance of popular etymology. תֹּאמֶר: the name given by the mother, as frequent in J, —another sign pointing to an earlier matriarchal stage of society (cf. ii. 24). אִישׁ, *man-child*, found nowhere

else; but cf. נֶבֶר (Job iii. 3) and זֶרַע אֲנָשִׁים (1 Sam. i. 11).

2. הֶבֶל: elsewhere a common noun, *breath*, usually in sense of *nothingness* (*e.g.* of man as "breath," Job vii. 16; Ps. xxxix. 6, 12, lxii. 10; etc.). The proper name is most prob. a variant of יָבָל, the shepherd (ver. 20), read as הֶבֶל, as expressive of his fate. This is much more appropriate to the context than the derivation fr. Assyr. *ablu, son* (Schrader, Fried. Delitzsch). Cf. p. 190.

רֹעֵה צֹאן: a settled shepherd, not a nomad. עֹבֵד אֲדָמָה: an agriculturist, like Noah (ix. 20).

3. מִנְחָה: fr. √מנח (cf. Ar. منح, *make a gift*), used of a gift generally (to king, prophet, and anyone else of high authority, in order to secure their favour), but specially of a gift to God. Here it includes gifts whether of fruits or animals (cf. Num. xvi. 15; Judg. vi. 18; 1 Sam. ii. 17). In P (*e.g.* Lev. ii., vi. 7–10; etc.), Ezek. and other late writers, it is confined to meat-offerings. Here sacrifice is tacitly presupposed as quite a regular institution from the beginning of history (cf. p. 212).

שָׁעָה, *look with favour*. The writer does not consider it necessary to mention either why Jahveh favoured Abel's offering and rejected Cain's, or how He showed His feeling. He evidently considers both self-evident. We ought, therefore, to adopt the most obvious explanations. It was surely no mere matter of ritual (LXX, Ball, Bennett), or because Jahveh preferred animal sacrifices (Gunk.); possibly the main stress should not even be laid on the motive (Heb. xi. 4; Dill., Holz., Driver). The offering, no doubt, reflected the spirit that prompted it. But J's general anthropomorphic mode of representation would indicate that Jahveh was directly affected by the intrinsic character of the two offerings (cf. Noah's sacrifice, viii. 21). Cain's offering, like his spirit, was poor and niggardly; Abel's

large and liberal—of the firstlings of his flock. Jahveh showed His favour for Abel and his offering doubtless in the usual way, by touching and kindling it (cf. Judg. vi. 21, xiii. 19 f.; 1 Kings xviii. 38; etc.), and His contempt for Cain's by leaving it alone.

5. וַיִּפְּלוּ פָנָיו: *i.e.* he went about sullenly. No more complicated feeling is to be read into the words.

7. אִם תֵּיטִיב, *if thou doest well*, prob. of conduct in general, rather than of correctness in ritual (LXX). שְׂאֵת: infin. of נָשָׂא, often taken as "shalt thou not be forgiven?" But the ideas of sin and forgiveness seem hardly involved in the primitive sacrifices of Cain and Abel, which were rather spontaneous offerings of gratitude. The meaning is doubtless: "shouldest thou not hold up thy face?" (cf. Job x. 15, xi. 15, xxii. 26; etc.). If his conduct was right, Cain ought surely to hold up his head, and look the world in the face. לַפֶּתַח חַטָּאת רֹבֵץ: the figure is that of a wild beast couching at the house or tent door, ready to spring in whenever the door is opened,—a wonderfully vivid and powerful picture of sin. (In 1 Pet. v. 8 we have the devil represented as a "roaring lion"; and according to Tuch, *Genesis*, p. 82, the Arabs called the lion *er-râbiḍ* or *er-rabbâd*, the lier in wait. The image is thus quite natural to the Oriental mind.) If Cain's downcast countenance be the reflection of ill-doing, then sin will seize the first opportunity to spring upon him and overpower him—as it actually did.

8. הַשָּׂדֶה: the open steppe outside the bounds of culture and civilisation.

10. On the idea that blood shed "cried" to heaven for vengeance, cf. Job xvi. 18; Isa. xxvi. 21; Ezek. xxiv. 7 f.; Rev. vi. 9 f. Compare also the Arabic legend of the death owl (p. 203). The same idea is found in Greek literature (*e.g.* Æsch., *Choe.* 284 ff.), and survives in the widespread superstition that the screeching of the owl forebodes impending death.

11. מִן: prob. in sense of *cast out*,—"as a man accursed thou art cast out in horror from the ground." This sense is borne out by ver. 12*b*. But מִן may also suggest the *agency*, the avenger-ground being regarded as itself the instrument of the curse (cf. ver. 12*a*). In the passages quoted from Job, Isa., and Ezek., it is blood not received by the ground that cries for vengeance. Here the blood that cries has been received into the earth. This represents another primitive idea, that blood shed is received by the earth, which now becomes "the avenger of the blood." We have this idea also powerfully expressed in Æsch., *Choe.* 66 ff., 283 ff. The belief is "immensely ancient and widespreaed" (Verrall, *Comm. s.l.*).

12: the explication of the curse. The ground—poisoned, perhaps, by the blood it has drunk — will no longer yield its produce (cf. again Æsch., *Choe.* 68 ff.). Cain is thus driven forth to wander over the earth. נוּעַ lit. = *stagger* or *totter*; נוּד = *wander restlessly from place to place.* The two paronomastic participles thus vividly describe the homeless, restless wandering of Cain.

13. עֲוֹנִי: here of the punishment of sin, which he finds intolerable. The Versions take it as "my sin is too great to be forgiven"; but this does violence to the context.

14. Out in the open desert, Cain will no longer enjoy Jahveh's presence and protection, but will be left helplessly exposed to the free operation of the law of vengeance at the hands of the tribe and kinsmen of the dead man (cf. p. 205).

15. A wandering murderer's only hope of safety was in securing the favour of a champion, who would defend him against his foes. Here Jahveh Himself becomes the champion of Cain, who will avenge his death sevenfold. This secures him against the operation of vengeance (cf. pp. 205 f.). On the "sign of Cain," cf. p. 211. On Jahveh's pity, cf. pp. 121, 165.

16. נוֹד: no doubt an ideal name derived from √נוּד.

17. The primitive writer was not concerned with the question that so greatly occupied later Jewish speculation, —whence Cain got his wife (cf. notes on iii. 14, 21).

חֲנוֹךְ (derivation quite uncertain): elsewhere as a son, *i.e.* a clan, of Reuben (Gen. xlvi. 9; Ex. vi. 14; etc.) or Midian (Gen. xxv. 4; 1 Chron. i. 33). The town of Enoch (Ḥanoch) is nowhere else referred to.

18. יָלַד of the father, characteristic of J. עִירָד (in Aq. *Ἀραδ* as well as *Ἰραδ*, bearing witness possibly to an original עֵרָד): prob. connected with Arad, a Canaanite capital in the wilderness of Judah (Num. xxi. 1, xxxiii. 40; Josh. xii. 14), the district south of which was afterwards occupied by the Kenites (Judg. i. 16). מְחוּיָאֵל, usually interpreted as מְחוּי אֵל, *stricken of God*. This is prob. the result of later reflection. P has the form מַהֲלַלְאֵל, which is found as a place-name of Judah in the late Jewish period (Neh. xi. 4). מְתוּשָׁאֵל explained as מְתוּ שְׁ אֵל (cf. Assyr. *mutu-sha-ili*), *man of God*. This name, too, shows evidence of later reflection. But it is impossible to arrive at the original form. That, no doubt, was a place-name like the others.

לֶמֶךְ (not explicable fr. Hebrew, but possibly connected with Ar. لمك, *subdue*; لمك, *a strong young warrior*): most prob. the *heros eponymus* of an Arabian tribe in the neighbourhood of Cain (Ken), as the comparison in ver. 24 would indicate. עָדָה, prob. fr. √עדה, i.e. *Adornment*, the name likewise of one of Esau's Canaanite wives (xxxvi. 2; etc.). צִלָּה, prob. fr. צֵל, i.e. *Shadow*, a name occurring nowhere else.

The writer takes no offence at the bigamy. He draws the picture of Bedouin life just as he finds it (cf. p. 200).

21 f. יָבָל (probably cognate with Syr. ܝܒܠܐ or ܬܘܒܠܐ, *herd*): represented as the "father," *i.e.* the

founder, but really the *heros eponymus*, of nomadic shepherd life. יֹשֵׁב אֹהֶל : cf. the *Arabes Scenitæ* of Strabo (XVI. i. 26, iv. 2) and *Pliny* (*H. N.* vi. 32, xiii. 7, etc.). יוּבָל (prob. connected with יוֹבֵל, *the jubilee horn*) : the *heros* of the musical arts, to whom is attributed the invention of כִּנּוֹר, the harp, and עוּגָב, the shepherd's pipe. תּוּבַל, in x. 2 the personification of the Tibarenes, the most famous ironworkers of antiquity (cf. Ezek. xxvii. 13) : the *heros* of smith work in bronze and iron.

Thus the chief arts of desert life are attributed to three brothers, the first two of whom are the more nearly related (cf. pp. 197 f.). For the close connection of pastoral life and primitive music we may compare the classical attribution of the shepherd's pipe to Pan, the god of shepherds, and the musical legends associated with Apollo Nomios and Hermes, the gods of shepherds. With Tubal, we may compare the wandering τελχῖνες, "the first workers in iron and brass" (Str. XIV. ii. 7).

23. הָרַגְתִּי : prob. pf. of certainty, expressing fixed principle or determination. In לְפִצְעִי and לְחַבֻּרָתִי the prep. = *on account of*, while the suffix is objective,—*for a wound inflicted on me* and *for a bruise given me*. יֶלֶד not necessarily *a child* (Budde, *Bibl. Urg.* p. 133), but rather *a young man* (cf. 1 Kings xii. 8 ff.; Dan. i. 4), who has just been initiated into warfare. We have here, then, an example of the law of Vengeance applied with its utmost ferocity (cf. pp. 204 f.).

v. 28 f. נֹחַ fr. נָחַם, *comfort*,—another instance of popular etymology. The name may really be derived fr. נוּחַ, *rest, settle* (cf. הֵנִיחַ in Isa. lxiii. 14 of God's "settling" Israel under Moses, and in Isa. xiv. 1 ; Ezek. xxxvii. 14 of His restoring them to their land), in which case Noah would be the *heros* of the original settlement in Canaan. The relation subsisting between his "sons"—the different peoples who settled there—is explained in the sequel, ix. 20 ff.

vi. 2. בְּנֵי־הָאֱלֹהִים undoubtedly of godlike beings, angels (cf. Job i. 6, ii. 1; Ps. xxix. 1, lxxxix. 7; etc.). בְּנוֹת הָאָדָם: *i.e.* mortal women. Sexual union is implied (cf. Jude 6 f.). Such stories are familiar in the traditions of the Greeks, who proudly traced their heroic families to the gods, the Babylonians, Phœnicians, and Arabs (cf. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*, p. 240). Even at the present day in the Semitic world, tales of alliances between *jinn* and women are told (cf. Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day*, pp. 115 ff.). The Targums try in various ways to avoid the offence.

4. The offspring of these unions הַנְּפִלִים, the "heroes of olden time," classed in Num. xiii. 33 among the giant "sons of Anak."

3. יָדוֹן: prob. cognate with Ar. دين, *to do a thing continuously*, i.e. *shall abide*, or *continue* (so LXX, Pesh., Onk., and Vulg.). It has also been regarded as an intentional alteration fr. יָדִין, *shall rule*, for greater impressiveness. But the former seems more natural, apart from the testimony of the Versions. רוּחִי: the breath of God, the source of man's life and strength (cf. note on ii. 7). בְּשַׁגַּם (*Baer*), *for that he also* (LXX, Onk., Pesh., and Vulg.). But שׁ = בַּאֲשֶׁר is late Hebrew (cf. Eccles. ii. 16), and apart from one doubtful explanation of Shiloh in the Blessing of Jacob (Gen. xlix. 10), שׁ is never found in the Pent., while in Judg. v. 7, too, its use is questionable. Moreover, "for that he also is flesh" seems a meaningless truism. It is better, therefore, with most of the MSS., to read בְּשִׁגַּם (fr. שָׁגַג, *go astray*), *i.e.* "for their transgression," man being regarded as involved in the angels' sins, and thus a party to their "transgression," as the animals also are corrupted by man's violence (vi. 13). בָּשָׂר. Apart from the breath of God, man is but "flesh." Therefore, when the breath is removed, he must die (cf. iii. 19*b*). On this explanation

of the mystery of death, cf. pp. 163 f. "120 years," the limit now fixed for human life, rather than the period of respite before the Flood (Targums, etc.). This was the age that Moses reached (Deut. xxxiv. 7). It is mistaken criticism to argue that this interpretation is "opposed to the fact that the post-diluvian patriarchs from Shem to Terah attained to a greater age" (Del., *New Comm.* p. 230). That genealogy belongs to P.

ix. 20. A new step in civilisation. Noah, already known as an agriculturist, begins also to cultivate vines. The culture of the vine was a familiar feature of Palestinian life.

אִישׁ הָאֲדָמָה: the man who tilled the ground, *i.e.* the agriculturist. Ctr. אִישׁ שָׂדֶה (xxv. 27), a man of the open steppe, *i.e.* a hunter.

21. וַיִּתְגַּל: not of absolute nakedness. Noah had laid aside, or dropped off, his upper garment, and lay with only his shirt covering him (cf. David, 2 Sam. vi. 14, 20).

22. In the original form of the story, it was prob. not a mere seeing that took place, but some awful act (cf. ver. 24), which drew down the curse in ver. 25. Unnatural and abominable crimes were common among the Canaanites (cf. Gen. xix. 4 f.). The tradition traces such back to the father of the Canaanites.

27. יַפְתְּ: a play on words, not a real explanation of the name Japheth (cf. p. 184). שָׁכַן בְּאָהֳלֵי = *dispossess* in Ps. lxxviii. 55 and 1 Chron. v. 10. In this sense Gunk. understands the phrase here. But in a Song of praise in honour of Shem, such an interpretation is wholly out of place. We must rather treat the phrase as a figurative expression for "be on the friendliest relations with" (cf. Ps. lxxxiv. 11, where "sojourning in the tents of wickedness" means "living in friendship with wicked men"). On the historical significance of the poem, cf. pp. 182 ff.

xi. 2. מִקֶּדֶם: in the Eastward region of the earth

(cf. ii. 8). שִׁנְעָר: Babylonia (cf. x. 10). בִּקְעָה, lit. *cleft*, hence of a broad valley or plain between hills. The classical writers also know of the "broad plain" of Babylonia (Herod. i. 178 f.; Str. XVI. i. 5).

3. לִבְנָה, Assyr. *libittu*, stat. const. *libnat*, baked bricks. לָבַן, Assyr. *labanu*, verb. denom. fr. above. With these, ctr. Egyptian bricks (Ex. i. 4, v. 7). לִשְׂרֵפָה, *to a burning, i.e.* thoroughly. חֵמָר: prob. fr. Assyr. *amaru*, asphalt (Ges.-Buhl, p. 217). This was much used in Babylonian buildings, both of ancient and modern times (cf. Herod. i. 170; Str. XVI. i. 15; Pliny, xxxv. 51; Blunt, *Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates*, i. 166 f.; etc.).

4. עִיר: evidently the first city (ctr. iv. 17). מִגְדָּל: the *ziggurat* tower which was so conspicuous a feature of Babylonian cities. The Babyl. records also frequently speak of these towers as "reaching to the heavens" (cf. *KB*, i. 42 f., III. ii. 4 f., 112 f.; etc.). שֵׁם: *a name of renown* (cf. vi. 4; 2 Sam. vii. 23; Isa. lxiii. 12; etc.). Budde's rendering *monument* (*Bibl. Urg.* p. 375) rests on a particular interpretation of the (doubtful) text of 2 Sam. viii. 13. Besides the renown it should bring them, the city would serve as a rallying-place, to prevent their being scattered. But in all this, they took no account of God!

5. On Jahveh's going down to see, cf. xviii. 21; Ex. iii. 8 (both Jahvistic).

6. הַחִלָּם: infin. const. Hiphil, with force of subst., *their beginning to do.*

7. הָבָה: the same word as they had used,—now in bitter irony. בָּלַל, lit. *mix* (*e.g.* with water or oil), only here in sense of *confuse*. Cf., however, Ar. بَلْبَلَ. The derivation of Babel fr. בָּלַל is merely a popular play on the name, expressive of the contempt with which the authors of the tradition regarded the proud city. Babel

is really *Bab-ilu, the gate of God* (cf. *KAT*[3], p. 529). On the scattering from Babel, cf. pp. 172 ff.

xi. 28 ff. On the names, see notes on P's genealogy.

30. וָלָד: found nowhere else except 2 Sam. vi. 23. We have here, perhaps, the original form preserved (cf. Ar. ولد, ولد, ولد). Possibly, however, Sam. is right in reading the ordinary יֶלֶד.

J.[2]—iv. 25. אָדָם: here as proper name (ctr. the generic usage in chs. ii. iii.). שֵׁת fr. שָׁת,—another instance of popular etymology. According to this derivation, Seth is the practical equivalent of Cain, "the gotten" (iv. 1). אֱלֹהִים: because of the religious view in ver. 26*b*.

26. Here the father gives the name,—rare in J (cf., however, v. 29, xxv. 25 f.). אֱנוֹשׁ: an artificial sing. fr. אֲנָשִׁים, like אֱלוֹהַ fr. אֱלֹהִים. Enosh is thus the simple duplication of Adam. הוּחַל: 3rd sing. (indeterminate) Hoph., *it was begun*. לִקְרֹא בְּשֵׁם יי: *i.e.* "to invoke God by the name of Jahveh." According to this writer, then, Jahveh-worship began with Enoch. The Targums misunderstand, or deliberately alter, the notice, finding in it the beginning of idolatry, with the Flood already looming in view.

vi. 5. יֵצֶר (in Pent. only elsewhere in viii. 21 and Deut. xxxi. 21), *form, shape*, orig. of the physical appearance, then of mental states = *imagination*.

Ver. 6 a strong anthropopathism, which is yet profoundly ethical. To later writers the thought of change in God's mind was repugnant (cf. Num. xxiii. 19; 1 Sam. xv. 29; Mal. iii. 6). The Targums also alter the words to maintain the Divine transcendence and consistency of character. J is more concerned to vindicate the free ethical personality of God (cf. pp. 114 f.).

vii. 1. וְכָל־בֵּיתְךָ: characteristic of J.[2] The different members of the household are enumerated in P.

תֵּבָה: the *term. techn.* for the ark, in both J^2 and P. The word is found elsewhere only in Ex. ii. 3, 5. Its origin is uncertain, but prob. either from Babylonia or Egypt. אֹתְךָ: emphatic, "thee alone." צַדִּיק: upright in his conduct towards God and man alike (cf. Ar. صدق, *be straight* or *true*). לְפָנַי: *i.e.* his righteousness satisfied God's standard of judgment.

2. בְּהֵמָה: here of animals in general (ctr. i. 24 ff.). שִׁבְעָה שִׁבְעָה: *i.e.* seven of each (cf. שְׁנַיִם שְׁנַיִם = one pair), not seven pairs (Dill.). It is needless to inquire whether the odd animal was intended for sacrifice. Seven was the sacred number, and therefore appropriate to the "clean" animals. Strict arrangement in pairs is thus not necessary. אִישׁ וְאִשְׁתּוֹ: char. of J^2. "Clean" and "unclean": *i.e.* fit and unfit for sacrifice and human food (cf. Lev. xi. and Deut. xiv. 3 ff.). The writer presupposes the observance of this distinction—as part of the ritual of sacrifice—from the beginning of history (cf. note on iv. 3).

4. In J^2 the Flood is the result of natural causes directed by Jahveh. In P primæval chaos is let loose. הַיְקוּם (elsewhere only in ver. 23 and Deut. xi. 6): a subst. formed fr. √קוּם with preformative like the imperf. tense, "that which stands up," *i.e.* "that which lives."

7. הַמַּבּוּל: *term. techn.* for the Flood in J^2 and P alike, derived prob. fr. Assyr. *babâlu*, overspread or overwhelm with water (Del., *HWB*, p. 176). Zimmern equates it with *abûbu*, the Babyl. term for the Flood (*KAT*³, p. 546).

12. הַגֶּשֶׁם: *pouring rain*, a stronger word than מָטָר.

16*c*. Another strong anthropomorphism.

22. נִשְׁמַת חַיִּים, חָרָבָה, and מֵתוּ: all expressions char. of J^2.

viii. 7 ff. The ancients were accustomed to send out birds to ascertain their bearings (cf Pliny, vi. 83). The dove which the Argonauts sent through the

Symplegades was probably kept on board for this purpose.

11. טָרָף (†): adj. fr. טָרַף, *tear* or *pluck away*, thus = *fresh* (cf. Ar. طَرِيف, *fresh*, fr. طَرَف, *pluck*). The fresh leaf was a clear sign that the earth was dry. The olive was found, not in Palestine alone, as Sayce affirms (*ET*, vii. p. 543), but in Armenia (cf. Str. XI. xiv. 4) and many other places as well. For its thriving even under water, cf. Pliny, xiii. 139.

13. מִכְסֶה: elsewhere used only in P, of the covering of the Tabernacle. Hence it has been held that the verse belongs to P. But the action of Noah in opening the window (ctr. vv. 15 f.) and the use of חָרְבוּ are marks of J^2. Moreover, for the roof of the ark P uses צֹהַר (vi. 16).

20. Here, too, sacrifice is presupposed as a practice dating from the beginning of history. Burnt-offerings are the only sacrifice worthy of so great a deliverance (cf. 2 Sam. xxiv. 25).

21. רֵיחַ הַנִּיחֹחַ, *lit.* "odour of satisfaction," a phrase used as late as P's age (cf. Lev. i. 9; etc.). It is evidence how crudely the ancient Hebrews thought of God and His delight in sacrifices, though the conception is a great refinement on the primitive ethnic idea that the gods devoured the offering (cf. *Iliad*, ix. 531; etc.). We should not press the argument, however, and maintain that as late as P's age, or even J^2's, the crude idea was literally entertained. Words are retained long after their spirit has changed (cf. "sweet savour of Christ"). The Targums try in various ways to overcome the anthropomorphism.

אֶל־לִבּוֹ: a paraphrase for the reflexive pronoun. To avoid the anthropomorphism, Onk. renders "Jahveh spake by His Word."

לְקַלֵּל expresses the religious view of the destruction.

On the suffering of the ground for man's sins, cf. note on iii. 17. On Jahveh's pity for His creatures, cf. iii. 21, iv. 15.

22. The opposites in the natural course of events are here minutely specified to emphasise the promise that there shall be no more interruption. The first three pairs all refer in general terms to the same two seasons, the summer and the winter half-years, in harmony with the general usage of Semitic peoples.

ix. 18 f. נָפְצָה: char. of J^2 (cf. x. 8, xi. 4, 8, 9). כָּל־הָאָרֶץ also char. of J^2 (cf. xi. 1, 9).

x. 1*b*. יֻלְּדוּ: char. of J^2 (cf. iv. 18, vv. 8, 15; etc.). אַחַר הַמַּבּוּל: the Babylonian historians also date "before" and "after" the Flood.

8. כּוּשׁ: prob. the *heros eponymus* of the Kashites (Bab. Kash), the warlike people from the mountains of Elam, who conquered and ruled Babylonia *c.* 1500–1250 B.C. The Ethiopian Cush (vv. 6 f.) is out of the question here.

8*b*. הֵחֵל: *began to be*, *i.e.* "was the first" (cf. iv. 26, ix. 20). גִּבּוֹר: *i.e.* a powerful ruler who subdued all under him. Nimrod is thus regarded as the first great Empire-builder.

9. גִּבּוֹר צַיִד: a hunter of might. With this conception of Nimrod the proverb in ver. 9*b* is connected. Possibly the tradition of Nimrod as Empire-builder was a later development from this. No name resembling Nimrod has been found on the monuments (cf. p. 193, n. 1). Had he been a famous ruler, these would not have been silent. On the other hand, the idealising influence of popular legend might easily have raised a famous hunter to royal rank.

10. בָּבֶל: Babylon. אֶרֶךְ: Bab. Arku or Urku, Gk. *Ὀρχόη*, mod. Warka, a city some distance down the Euphrates from Babylon. אַכַּד: usually N. Babylonia, here the city of Agade, Sargon I.'s famous capital. כַּלְנֵה:

uncertain, though identified by Jeremias (*Das AT. etc.* p. 164) with Nippur, mod. Niffer, bet. Babylon and Warka. שִׁנְעָר: the name for the whole kingdom of Babylonia, embracing both Sumer and Accad (cf. xi. 1).

11. נִינְוֵה: the capital of Assyria (Assyr. Ninâ or Ninuâ). רְחֹבֹת עִיר: prob. the *Rébit Ninâ* of Asarhaddon's Prism-Inscription, i. 54 (*KB*, ii. 126), *i.e.* the suburb of Nineveh, perhaps mod. Mosul. כָּלַח: Assyr. Kalḫu, on the site of the mod. Nimrud, built by Shalmaneser I. (*c.* 1300 B.C.), rebuilt by Asshur-nazir-pal (885–860 B.C.), a residence of the Assyrian kings until Sargon (722 B.C.). רֶסֶן: prob. the Rishini mentioned in the inscription of Sennacherib (*KB*, ii. 116) as the name of a city near Nineveh, not yet identified. These four formed one great city from the time of Sennacherib (see *KB*, ii. 116 f.). Although no one ruler built all these cities, and their origin is independent of Babylon, the tradition so far reflects historical conditions that Assyria was really dependent on Babylon for its civilisation, culture, mythology, etc. (cf. p. 193, n. 1).

13. לוּדִים: prob. some Egyptian or neighbouring people, not yet identified, less likely the Lydian mercenaries in the army of Egypt (Sayce, *ET*, viii. p. 181). In Jer. xlvi. 9 and Ezek. xxx. 5, they appear along with Cush and Put as allies of Egypt.

לְהָבִים (elsewhere only in 1 Chron. i. 11): prob. another form of לוּבִים (cf. Nah. iii. 9; Dan. xi. 43; 2 Chron. xii. 3, xvi. 8), the Lybians, on the W. border of Egypt. עֲנָמִים (elsewhere only in 1 Chron. i. 11): a name quite unknown and uncertain. נַפְתֻּחִים (elsewhere only in 1 Chron. i. 11): also uncertain. Ebers suggests *na-ptah* = *οἱ τοῦ Φθᾶ*, those of Ptah, or Memphis (cf. Dill. p. 189). Erman conjectures פַּתְמִחִים, i.e. *p't'mḥi*, the people of the North land, or the Delta (*ZATW*, 1890, pp. 118 f.).

14. פַּתְרֻסִים: identified as *p't'rsi*, the people of the South land, or Upper Egypt.

כַּסְלֻחִים: identified by Sayce with the Kasluhet of the wall of the temple of Kom Ombo (*DB*, i. p. 351). But the home of the people is quite unknown.

כַּפְתֹרִים: usually = Cretans. If the word have this connotation here, Crete is regarded as a colony of Egypt. More probably, however, the Caphtorim of this verse are the inhabitants of a district of Egypt. The name Kaptar also figures on the temple wall of Kom Ombo (cf. *DB*, i. p. 351).

15. צִידֹן: the old metropolis of Phœnicia, which gave its name to the whole country, even after Tyre had assumed the first place (cf. Josh. xiii. 6; 1 Kings xvi. 31; etc.). In Greek literature, too, the Phœnicians are often called Sidonians.

חֵת: the old conquering Ḫatti, often mentioned in the Egyptian and Assyrian records, whose kingdom extended from the Euphrates to the Orontes, till forced backed or absorbed by the Aramæans. The Hittite monuments, which Jensen dates 1200–800, show their extension N., N.W., and N.E., nearly to the borders of the Euxine, and W. to the Ægean. In the Amarna letters they appear also as invaders of Palestine (cf. p. 185). In all likelihood, fragments of the nation settled there, while others pushed N. and W. In this verse, therefore, the Hittites—though not really Canaanites—are included with the Phœnicians in the family of Canaan. They are placed after Zidon, because in Canaan they occupied a second place behind the more aggressive and prosperous Phœnicians.

16. הַיְבוּסִי: the old dwellers in and around Jerusalem, till driven out by David (2 Sam. v. 6 ff.). הָאֱמֹרִי: in E and Dt. (and Assyrian records) the name for Canaanites in general; but in earlier times the designation of N. Palestinians. הַגִּרְגָּשִׁי (cf. xv. 21; Josh. iii. 10; etc.): one of the peoples dispossessed by Israel, whose race and locality are unknown. הַחִוִּי: another of the peoples

dispossessed by Israel, located in Shechem (xxxiv. 2), Gibeon (Josh. ix. 7, xi. 19), and prob. other sites in central Palestine.

17. הָעַרְקִי: the inhabitants of Arka, Assyr. Ar-kâ, mod. Tell Arka with village Arka, on the coast, a little N. of Tripolis. סִינִי: inhabitants of Sin, Assyr. Si-an-nu, mod. Syn (mentioned as late as the 15th cent.), about two miles from Arka. הָאַרְוָדִי: inhabitants of the island city Arwad, frequently mentioned in the Assyr. inscriptions (as Ar-va-da) and also by the classical writers (cf. Str. XVI. ii. 13; Pliny, v. 77 f.), mod. Ruwad or Ruweidi. צְמָרִי: inhabitants of Zemar, frequently mentioned in the Amarna tablets and Assyr. monuments, mod. Sumra, bet. Arwad and Tripolis. חֲמָתִי: inhabitants of the old Hittite city Hamath, on the Orontes, frequently mentioned in the O.T.

25. עֵבֶר: the *heros eponymus* of the Hebrews, divided into "sons of Peleg," embracing Israel and the kindred tribes of Moab, Ammon, and Edom, and "sons of Joktan," *i.e.* the desert Arabs.

26. אַלְמוֹדָד (the *al-* prob. the Arabic art.): uncertain. שָׁלֶף: identified by Glaser (*Skizze*, p. 425) with one or other of the numerous places named *Salf*, bet. Jemen and Ḥaḍramaut. חֲצַרְמָוֶת: mentioned in the Sabæan inscriptions, known also to the classical writers (Str. XVI. iv. 2; Pliny, vi. 155), and still existent as Ḥaḍramaut, on the S. Coast of Arabia, a little east of Aden (cf. Glaser, p. 424).

27. אוּזָל: according to Arab tradition (cf. Glaser, p. 427), the old name of Ṣan'a, the capital of Yemen. דִּקְלָה, הֲדוֹרָם, יָרַח, and אֲבִימָאֵל: all unidentified and uncertain.

28. שְׁבָא (in ver. 7 as a "son of Cush"): the powerful and wealthy kingdom of Sheba or Sabæa, in S.W. Arabia, so frequently mentioned in the O.T. and the classical writers, as well as in the many recently discovered Sabæan inscriptions.

29. אוֹפִיר: the famous gold-land, not yet identified, but from its mention here doubtless on the Arabian Coast, W. of the Persian Gulf, and S. of the "land of Havilah." חֲוִילָה (in ver. 7 as a "son of Cush"): prob. in the N.E. of Arabia, on the W. Coast of the Persian Gulf (cf. xxv. 18; 1 Sam. xv. 7). יוֹבָב: uncertain.

30. מֵשָׁא: uncertain, but somewhere in the N. of Arabia. Dill. rds. מַשָּׂא (cf. xxv. 14), the name of a N. Arabian tribe about half-way bet. the Gulf of Aḳaba and the Persian Gulf. סְפָר: usu. identified with the classical Σάπφαρα, Sapphar, mod. *Ḍaphar*; but this is very doubtful (cf. Glaser, p. 437). In any case, its locality must be on the south coast. הַר הַקֶּדֶם: "probably the great frankincense mountains, which extend some distance beyond Ḍaphar towards the east" (Driver, p. 132). The range must be sought for, at all events, somewhere in this region.

P.—i. 1. בְּרֵאשִׁית has the appearance of a *stat. const.* with preposition. Thus Dill., Holz., Gunk., etc., follow Rashi in rendering: "In the beginning, when God created . . . (ver. 3), God said," etc., treating ver. 2 as parenthetic (cf. on ii. 4*b*–7). This is, no doubt, grammatically possible (cf. Ex. vi. 28; Deut. iv. 15; Hos. i. 2; etc.); but such a sentence seems too involved to serve as the first step in the stately march of this chapter. It is very doubtful, too, whether a parenthetic clause of the nature of ver. 2 could be found so near the beginning of the book. We expect a direct, progressive statement of the creative process. Thus we adhere to the traditional rendering (found in all the Versions): "In the beginning God created, or fashioned," etc., treating vv. 2 and 3 as independent sentences. For the adverbial sense, cf. מֵרֹאשׁ (Isa. xl. 21; etc.), מֵרֹאשֹׁת (Isa. xlvi. 10), לְאָחוֹר (Ps. cxiv. 3, 5; Jer. vii. 24), לְעוֹלָם (Gen. iii. 22, vi. 3; etc.), and other instances. In

the phrase we should, doubtless, look for no more than the simple temporal "to begin with," "first of all," the creation of the Universe being the introduction to the history the writer has to relate. The idea of a limitless "beginning," during which God created the Universe (cf. *ἐν ἀρχῇ*, of the Logos, in John i. 1), is out of the question here. Probably the writer has as little thought of a contrast between the original creation of all things and the אַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים, when the Messianic kingdom is to be established (Stade, *Bibl. Theol. des AT.*, p. 349). The most obvious sense is the best.

בָּרָא: a word invariably used of Divine action, applied not only to the making of the Universe (as here and many other passages), but also to the "production" of the stars, winds, animals, man, the people of Israel, as well as the new "creations" of the Messianic time. The word comes fr. the same root as the S. Ar. برى, *cut*, *fashion* (بَرْأ, *create*, is a later word, prob. derived from the Hebrew, the true Ar. word for "create," used, *e.g.*, by Saadia, being خلق lit. *count* or *measure*), and is used in the Piel in this sense (in Josh. xvii. 15, 18 of hewing down forests; in Ezek. xxiii. 47 of hewing with the sword). In itself, then, the word does not suggest "calling forth from nothing," but rather "fashioning in an artistic, workman-like way" (cf. יָצַר, Gen. ii. 7). The collocation of the two words in Amos iv. 13, and of the same two with עָשָׂה in Isa. xlv. 18, together with the parallelism of בָּרָא and עָשָׂה in vv. 26 f. of this chapter, show that all three mean substantially the same thing, though the restriction of בָּרָא to Divine action gives it a more exalted signification. In our translation we have avoided the current term "create"—which inevitably suggests the *creatio ex nihilo*—and rendered by "fashion," which also expresses more accurately the force of בָּרָא.

The word is found in several late or corrupted passages (Ex. xxxiv. 10; Num. xvi. 30; Deut. iv. 32; Isa. iv. 5; Jer. xxxi. 22; Amos iv. 13), for the first time with undoubted certainty in Ezek. xxi. 35, xxviii. 13, 15, and then frequently in Isa. xl. ff., as well as later writers.

הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהָאָרֶץ: always used of the Universe as a completed cosmos. The verse cannot refer, then, to the calling forth of the raw material out of which the Universe was made, but must be a general introduction to the "fashioning" of the Universe, as set forth in the subsequent verses. The idea of *creatio ex nihilo* is thus implied neither in the use of the term בָּרָא nor in the context. According to Isa. xlv. 18, indeed, the "creation" of a watery mass, such as that described in ver. 2, is a contradiction in terms. God "creates" all things orderly and well (cf. ver. 31).

Ver. 2 describes the state of the earth (for the heavens were not formed till the second day, ver. 8) before the Divine process of "creation" or "fashioning" began.

תֹּהוּ וָבֹהוּ: found together again in Isa. xxxiv. 11 (a late passage) and Jer. iv. 23 (where the reading is corrupt). The former occurs nowhere else, but תֹּהוּ is found also in 1 Sam. xii. 21 (the later source), Deut. xxxii. 10 (the Song of Moses), and several times in Isaiah (both primary and secondary elements), Job, and Psalms. A study of the passages where the word occurs shows that it means "wasteness" (of a desert, a wasted city, gods that are "nought," etc.). The word is therefore closely connected with Ar. تيه, *desert*. The meaning of בֹּהוּ is evidently much the same. We may compare Ar. بهى, *be empty*. The word is probably connected also with Phœn. *Báav*, Night, the mother of Chaos (Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.*, x. 5), and therefore will come ultimately from the Babylonian. The termination is found also in

the late forms שָׁחוּ (Ezek. xlvii. 5), שָׁלוּ (Ps. xxx. 7), and שָׁכוּ or שֶׁכְוִי (Job xxxviii. 36), whose Hebrew character is doubtful.

תְּהוֹם: no doubt also a foreign word, derived fr. Bab. Tiâmat, the "dragon of the deep." In Heb. it is used of "fountains" (Deut. viii. 7), of "floods" in general (Ezek. xxvi. 19; Ps. xlii. 8; etc.), but usually of the great ocean (LXX *ἀβύσσος*) round and below the earth, which was regarded as the source of all the rivers and springs (cf. vii. 11, xlix. 25; Deut. xxxiii. 13; Amos vii. 4; and several times in Ezek., DeutIsa., Job, etc.). The latter is the implication of the term here, although the "abyss" has not yet been brought into its proper place, but covers the earth in a dark chaotic mass (cf. Ps. xxxiii. 7, civ. 6).

רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים: the Spirit, as the life-giving power of God, regarded almost as an independent emanation of God. In Ps. xxxiii. 7 and civ. 6, where the Spirit also appears in connection with creation, it is still the breath emitted from God's mouth (cf. vi. 3). Onk. and the Jewish writers here again try to overcome the offence by rendering "a wind from Jahveh."

רָחַף: in Qal only Jer. xxiii. 9, of bones that "knock together," unstrung in fear before God's wrath; in Piel, apart from this verse, only Deut. xxxii. 11, of an eagle "fluttering over" her young ones. Thus the Versions understand the word in this context. But the sense is more prob. *brooded*, like a bird over its eggs (cf. the quotation fr. Basil the Great in Field, *Hex.* p. 7.). This is borne out by the Syr. ܪܚܦ (the word used here by Pesh.), which is used of hatching eggs. Driver aptly compares Milton, *Paradise Lost*, i. 19 ff., vii. 234 ff. According to ver. 2, then, the primæval condition of things was a chaotic mass, in which the earth was sunk beneath the waters of the "great abyss," under a thick

cloak of "darkness profound," with the Spirit of God brooding over the mass, as the potency of life and order (cf. Milton, *Par. Lost*, vii. 278 ff.).

3. As the pre-condition of all ordered progress, God calls light into being, most probably from the womb of chaotic darkness (cf. pp. 128 f.). Here light is regarded as a separate cosmical essence, independent of the sun and moon, which were not made till the fourth day. In Job xxvi. 10 and xxxviii. 19 ff. we have the same conception of the diffusion of light and darkness. In Babylonia, too, we find the light-god Marduk different from, and ruling over, the deities of sun, moon, and stars. In Greece also the light-god Apollo is independent of the sun- and moon-gods, Helios and Selene.

4. טוֹב: *i.e.* suited to its purpose. בדל: only found as Niph. in Chron., Ezra, and Neh., and Hiph. (apart from P) in Deut. (chiefly later elements), 1 Kings viii. 53 (a Deutic. passage), Ezek., DeutIsa., Chron., and late books. According to the peculiar implication of the term, the "divided" elements are to remain for ever separate, obedient to their own laws. Thus God sets fast bounds between light and darkness, so that confusion may never recur, and thick darkness no longer rule over the world.

5. The name expresses the essence and function of the thing named (see note on ii. 19). In giving names to light and darkness, God thus stamps them with their character to all eternity.

5*b*. The calculation here is prob. not the later one from sunset to sunset (Gunk., Bennett), but rather the earlier one from sunrise to sunrise, which is most in harmony with the writer's point of view. God began His work by day; evening and night followed, making up the complete "day"; the next morning began the second day, with its peculiar work. By "day," it need hardly be pointed out, the writer means not days of

1000 years, or incalculable æons of time, as even Del. (*New Comm.* p. 84) maintains, but simply days as he knew them, embracing the hours of day and night. His chronology is too exact to permit of any loose notions. And, moreover, the motive for the sanctity of the Sabbath (ii. 2 f.) demands a literal six-days creation.

6. רָקִיעַ, fr. רָקַע, Qal = *strike*, *stamp* (with the feet), Piel = *beat out* (into a flat surface): the expanse of heaven, conceived as a hard substance stretched like a curtain or tent over the earth (cf. p. 129). The conception of the heavens as a solid dome is found also among the Babylonians (cf. Creation Tablet, iv. 138 f.), Greeks (cf. *Iliad*, v. 504, xvii. 425; *Od.* v. 2, xv. 329; Hes., *Theog.* 128; Herod. iv. 158; etc.), Persians,[1] Indians, and among the Finns, New Zealanders,[2] and primitive peoples generally,[3] to whom things are simply what they seem. Apart fr. P, the word רָקִיעַ is found only in Ezek. i. 22 ff., x. 1; Ps. xix. 2, cl. 1; and Dan. xii. 3.

וַיְהִי מַבְדִּיל: the participial phrase, implying a permanent division. In vv. 4 and 7 the imperf. with *vav* conv. describes a single action.

In vv. 10 (text expanded as in Crit. Notes) and 12, וְ is clearly explicative. It has the same force, doubtless, in ver. 7 and thoughout the chapter. Thus the Divine command is fulfilled equally by a natural process under the control of the Divine will, and by the direct action of God Himself (cf. pp. 125 f.).

7. The waters hitherto contained in the primæval "abyss" are thus divided into a mass above the dome of heaven, to be hereafter let down as rain through the

[1] "That sky there . . . that looks like a palace, and stands built of a heavenly substance, firmly established," etc. (Zend Avesta, *Yasht* xiii. 2 f.).

[2] "The sky is built of solid blue stone" (Gill, *Myths and Songs of the South Pacific*, p. 58).

[3] "The sky forms a roof—quite near to earth—on which the sun, moon, and stars travel" (Tylor, *Early History of Mankind*, pp. 350 f.).

"windows of heaven," and the "world-sea" round and below the earth, the source of seas, lakes, fountains, and rivers (cf. pp. 129 f.). These cosmological ideas are common to all nations that think of heaven as a solid dome.

8. שָׁמַיִם: *i.e.* the visible expanse of heaven.

9. יִקָּווּ, Niph. of √קוה, *be gathered*, elsewhere only in Jer. iii. 17 (of peoples), though the form should also be read prob. in Isa. lx. 9 (of ships). מִקְוֶה: the noun fr. √קוה, *gathering-place*, found besides in Ex. vii. 19 and Lev. xi. 36 (both P), of the gathering of waters; also in 1 Kings x. 28, where, however, the word is prob. the result of a corruption. יַבָּשָׁה, *dry land*, found in Ex. iv. 9 (an interpolation in J), Ex. xiv. 16 ff. (P), xv. 19 (Red.); Josh. iv. 22 (Deutic.); elsewhere in Isa. xliv. 3; Neh. ix. 11; Jonah i. 9 ff.; and Ps. lxvi. 6. J uses a different term (cf. vii. 22; etc.).

10. The lower water being gathered together into the "world-sea," the earth also assumes form (cf. Ps. civ. 7 ff.; Job xxxviii. 10 ff.).

11. תַּדְשֵׁא: denom. fr. דֶּשֶׁא, as Hiph. found only here, as Qal only in Joel ii. 22. דֶּשֶׁא: the fresh green growth that springs up after rainfall (cf. 2 Sam. xxiii. 4; Job xxxviii. 27), or after the old grass is gone (Prov. xxvii. 25), here a general name for vegetation, including עֵשֶׂב, grass, corn, and herbs, and עֵץ, trees. מִין, of the varieties of a species, always found with לְ and suffix. Apart from P, the form occurs only in Deut. xiv. 13, 15, 18 (a late insertion fr. Lev. xi.) and Ezek. xlvii. 10, where it is prob. the outcome of a corruption.

12. The earth, made fertile by the Spirit of God, brings forth vegetation at His command (cf. p. 127).

14. מְאֹרֹת, *light-bearers* or *-bodies*, *luminaries*: freq. in P of the lamps of the Tabernacle, here of the heavenly bodies in which the diffused light (ver. 3) is concentrated and made to shine more brightly (cf. the Greek idea of

the derivation of the light of sun and moon from Hyperion, their father). Apart fr. P, the word is only found in Ezek. xxxii. 8; Prov. xv. 30; Ps. lxxiv. 16, xc. 8. אוֹתֹת, *signs*: chiefly perhaps of the ordinary processes of Nature, but also (through eclipses, comets, etc.) of extraordinary events impending. מוֹעֲדִים, fr. יָעַד, *fix*: of stated places and times, chiefly the annual festivals.

16. מֶמְשֶׁלֶת, *st. const.* of noun מֶמְשָׁלָה, only here with Gen. of object ruled. The "ruling" suggests the old mythological idea of the sun and moon as gods, ruling over their respective spheres (cf. *Seven Tables*, v. 12 ff.). In this context, from a writer like P, however, we need look for no more than a poetic metaphor.

17. וַיִּתֵּן: i.e. *placed, fixed*. The heavenly bodies are attached to the firmament, where their course is set (cf. Ps. xix. 5). The classical nations also thought of the sun, moon, and stars as fixed to the heavens (cf. *sidera cælo adfixa*, Pliny, ii. 106).

20. שָׁרַץ, lit. *crawl*, and שֶׁרֶץ, *crawling creatures, reptiles*, here extended to the creatures of the sea (cf. Lev. xi. 10). Apart fr. P, the former word is found only in Ezek. xlvii. 9 and Ps. cv. 30; the latter only in Deut. xiv. 19 (fr. P). נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה, *living creatures* (cf. note on ii. 7): in explanatory apposition. עוֹף: coll. = all kinds of winged creatures. יְעוֹפֵף: denom. fr. עוֹף. The Pilel conveys the idea of their numbers, and also prob. of their flight to and fro, and up and down. עַל־פְּנֵי ר׳ הש׳: *i.e.* in the air, heaven being supposed to be not far off.

21. וַיִּבְרָא: the more impressive word used for the first "creation" of conscious life. תַּנִּין: usually of the serpent, crocodile, or dragon; here of the great sea-monsters (cf. Ps. cxlviii. 7). Apart fr. P, the word occurs only in Deut. xxxii. 33 ("Song of Moses"), Ezek. xxix. 3 and xxxii. 2, later portions of Isa. and Jer., Job vii. 12, and a few Psalms. רָמַשׂ = *crawl*: apart fr.

P, found only in Deut. iv. 18 (a later section), Ezek. xxxviii. 20, and Ps lxix. 35, civ. 20.

22. פְּרוּ וּרְבוּ: found separately in earlier books, together (apart fr. P) only in Jer. iii. 16, xxiii. 3, and Ezek. xxxvi. 11. The living creatures are blessed, because they alone can enter into, and thus help to accomplish, God's purpose.

24. בְּהֵמָה: domestic animals. רֶמֶשׂ: reptiles. חַיַּת־אֶרֶץ: wild beasts. (Ctr. J^2's classification, ii. 19 ff.) חַיְתוֹ: an old case ending. But see Crit. Notes.

25. The blessing of the animals is omitted, prob. for no more subtle reason than that another work is embraced within the same day.

26. נַעֲשֶׂה: doubtless plur. of royalty, in reference to the godlike beings that surround the King in His courts (cf. note on iii. 22), whose special interest God seeks in this, His crowning work. So the Jewish scholars take the plural. The explanations that the plur. expresses mere majesty (Knob.) or fulness of power (Dill.), fail to do justice to the impressive dignity of the address; while the supposed reference to the Trinity (Church Fathers) is quite beyond the O.T. stage of revelation.

אָדָם: coll. for the human species. The creation of a single pair is not necessarily implied. According to the language alone, the human beings created might have been as numerous as the animals (vv. 20 ff.). But ver. 27 does suggest a single pair, and v. 1 plainly implies it.

צֶלֶם: orig. of any plastic image (cf. 1 Sam. vi. 5, 11), but usually of idols as images of the gods. The word thus implies that man was made in the exact likeness of the godlike beings (God and His angels), in physical appearance as well as in mental and moral qualities (cf. pp. 144 f.). דְּמוּת is a more abstract term, "something that looks like" (cf. Ezek. i. 5 ff.; Dan. i. 16).

The Versions and Targums try in various ways to escape the anthropomorphism.

27. בָּרָא does not even here involve *creatio ex nihilo.* Man's supremacy is shown by the impressive majesty which surrounds his creation, and the "Divine image" in which he is made. But doubtless by P, too, he was regarded as made "out of the earth," like the other creatures (cf. pp. 129, 143).

28*b*. By virtue of the Divine image, man is king over the lower creatures. Thus the intellectual aspect of the "image" comes first to light.

29. נָתַתִּי: perf. of certainty, usual in covenants, agreements, and commissions. זֹרֵעַ זֶרַע: ctr. מַזְרִיעַ זֶרַע (ver. 11). עֹשֶׂה פְּרִי אֲשֶׁר זַרְעוֹ־בוֹ: ctr. אֲשֶׁר בּוֹ פְּרִי וגו׳ (ver. 11).

30. חַיַּת הָאָרֶץ here appears to include beasts both wild and tame (ctr. vv. 24 ff.). נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה here = "the soul of life" (ctr. vv. 20 ff.).

31. טוֹב מְאֹד: the Almighty Worker finds special pleasure in contemplating the whole.

ii. 1. צְבָא: very freq. as applied to the heavens, only here in reference to the earth as well, though in Isa. xxxiv. 2 it is applied to the nations of the earth. The word embraces the various beings that peopled the heavens and earth, regarded as "an organised and disciplined body" (Driver). Cf. p. 134, n. 1.

2. There is here no idea of perpetual rest. We must take the words in the literal sense: God worked six days, then rested on the seventh to recuperate His energies. This rest of God's is for P (and the later priestly school generally) the motive for the keeping of the Sabbath, which is thus evidently derived fr. שַׁבָּת, *rest* (cf. pp. 136 f.).

3. וַיְקַדֵּשׁ: *i.e.* set it aside for His own ends, for worship and sacrifice. לַעֲשׂוֹת: modal gerundive, with the indicative prob. as the modifying verb, *i.e.* "which

God had made creatively" (cf. Ew., *Syn.* § 285*a*). But לַעֲשׂוֹת may also be taken as the defining word, "which God had fashioned so as to make" (cf. Ew. § 280*d*).

v. 1. סֵפֶר: used of different kinds of "writing," *e.g.* a letter (2 Sam. xi. 14 f.), a legal document such as a "bill of divorce" (Deut. xxiv. 1, 3; Isa. l. 1; Jer. iii. 8), a deed of conveyance (Jer. xxxii. 11 ff.) or a criminal indictment (Job xxxi. 35), though usually a book in the strict sense of a literary document, large or small (the "book of the Law," "the book of the Chronicles of the Kings," "the book of the Wars of Jahveh," etc.). In every instance, however, the word implies a completed document (cf. p. 31).

תּוֹלְדוֹת: used of branches of a family (Num. i. 20; etc.), of a genealogical tree (freq. in Gen.), and hence of family history in general (*e.g.* vi. 9, xxxvii. 2). But the sense is always "descent from," not "ascent to" (Gk. *γεννήσεις*, not *γένεσις*, as in LXX).

2. אָדָם: here as proper name, as in iv. 25 (J^2).

3. הוֹלִיד (Hiph.), *beget*, char. of P. בְּצַלְמוֹ: in his image, as he was made in God's. Thus Adam transmits the Divine "image" to his posterity (cf. p. 144).

9. קֵינָן: a strengthened form of the name קַיִן (iv. 1).

12. מַהֲלַלְאֵל (prob. = *Praise of God*), variant fr. מְחוּיָאֵל (iv. 18). In Neh. xi. 4, Mahalalel is a Jewish family of the stock of Perez.

15. יֶרֶד: variant form of עִירָד (iv. 18). In 1 Chron. iv. 18, Jered appears as the name of a clan of Judah.

18. In P's list, Enoch and Mahalalel have changed places (cf. p. 30).

22. וַיִּתְהַלֵּךְ ח' אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים: a technical expression for "living a devout life," the phrase being originally understood in the literal sense (cf. p. 150 f.). It implies much closer intimacy than "walking before God" (xvii. 1; xxiv. 40; etc.). LXX, Pesh., Onk., and the Jewish

scholars try in various ways to avoid the anthropomorphism.

24. וְאֵינֶנּוּ: *i.e.* "and suddenly he disappeared" (cf. xxxvii. 30; 1 Kings xx. 40; etc.).

לָקַח: *removed him*, without dying (cf. Elijah). So the Versions and exegetes have rightly taken it, though Onk. curiously reads "Jahveh slew him"—prob. bec. of his supposed presumption in "walking with God." Here we have another remarkable instance of the later Jewish tendency to remove God as far as possible from man.

26. מְחוּשֶׁלַח (prob. *man of the god Shelach*): var. fr. מְתוּשָׁאֵל (iv. 18).

vi. 9. תּוֹלְדֹת: here in extended sense of *family history* (see note on v. 1).

תָּמִים: orig. a ritual term, applied to animals that were "spotless," and therefore fit for sacrifice; here in the sense of *morally upright* or *blameless*, *i.e.* exemplary in all his conduct, towards both God and man (cf. Ar. تَمَّ, *to establish, complete*).

דֹּרֹתָיו: here in the personal sense, "the men of his own generation." Ctr. vii. 1 (J^2).

10. Repeated (fr. v. 32) as part of the family history.

11. חָמָס: orig. the defiant violence of the strong, hence wickedness in general.

12. כָּל־בָּשָׂר: here, and in ver. 13, prob. of man alone, as the primal cause of the corruption (ctr. vv. 17 ff.).

13. בָּא לְפָנַי: *i.e.* "I am resolved upon" (cf. עִם in same sense, Job x. 13, xxiii. 14).

מִפְּנֵיהֶם (מ of efficient cause): *i.e.* as the result of their influence (cf. Ex. iii. 7, viii. 20; Judg. vi. 6; etc.).

14. תֵּבַת: the *term. techn.* for the ark, both in J^2 and P (see note on vii. 1).

גֹּפֶר (†): prob. some species of coniferous tree (cedar or cypress). In early times, cypress was much used for shipbuilding (cf. Arrian, vii. 19).

קִנִּים, *nests*, *nests*: *i.e.* all divided into compartments.

כֹּפֶר (†): denom. fr. כֹּפֶר, Assyr. *kupru*, asphalt. This is still used in Mesopotamia for making ships and boats water-tight (cf. Blunt, *Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates*, i. p. 166).

16. צֹהַר (†) prob. *roof* (cf. Ar. ظهر, *back*, *ridge*; Assyr. *shêru*, *back*; *shu-uḫ-ru* in Amarna Tablet 157, l. 11). אַמָּה here prob. *hinge* (cf. Ges.-Buhl).

17. מַבּוּל: *term. techn.* for the Flood, in both J^2 and P (see note on vii. 10). כָּל־בָּשָׂר: here embracing the animals too. They must likewise die, because they have become involved in man's corruption (vi. 13).

רוּחַ חַיִּים: P's phrase for J's נִשְׁמַת חַ֫יִּים (vii. 22).

גָּוַע: P's word for "die." Apart fr. P, the word is only found in Lam. i. 19; Zech. xiii. 8; Ps. lxxxviii. 16; civ. 29; and eight times in Job.

18. בְּרִית: of a bond of friendship. The usual verb with בְּרִית is כָּרַת, which implies mutual action in forming the covenant. Instead, P uses הֵקִים, *set up*, which attributes the whole action to God. The covenant is thus all on His side. Apart fr. P, הֵקִים is found with בְּרִית only in Ezek. xvi. 60, 62; Ps. lxxviii. 5.

vii. 11. תְּהוֹם רַבָּה: the subterranean ocean, whose waters had been gathered together and placed within bounds in i. 9 ff. All the springs and channels that communicate with this ocean are cut open, allowing its waters to pour forth and overwhelm the earth. At the same time, אֲרֻבֹּת הַשָּׁמַיִם, the "windows of heaven" (cf. note on i. 7), are thrown wide open, so that these waters also are emptied upon the earth. We have thus a return to the primæval condition of things (i. 2).

20. At its maximum the Flood stood 15 cubits—half the depth of the ark (vi. 15)—above the highest hill-top. At this point the ark could just touch the top of Mt. Ararat (viii. 4).

viii. 1. זָכַר, *remembered*, i.e. *thought of*. On God's care for the animals, cf. p. 122.

The process described in vii. 11 is now reversed, the channels and windows are closed, and the waters removed.

4. עַל הָרֵי: i.e. *an one of the mountains* (*unnamed*) *of Ararat* (cf. xiii. 12; Judg. xii. 7).

אֲרָרָט: Assyr. Urarṭu, the district of Armenia, N. of Lake Van, along the valley of the Araxes. The word is found also in Isa. xxxvii. 38 = 2 Kings xix. 37 (where LXX translates by *'Αρμένια*) and Jer. li. 27. The highest mountain in this region is Mt. Massis, 17,000 ft. high, which tradition identifies with the landing-place of the ark. The Targums and Pesh., however, read Kardu, *i.e.* Karduchia, which agrees with Berossus (see App. B, p. 337). Holz. thinks this may have been the original reading here as well, Ararat being due to the desire of later readers to find the highest possible point for the ark to reach (cf. *Kurzer H.-C.* pp. 72 f.).

19. לְמִשְׁפְּחֹתֵיהֶם: instead of the plur. of לְמִין, which is never found.

ix. 1 ff.: in direct reference to i. 29 ff. Formerly man and animals lived in peace; but since the Flood, man is the enemy of the lower creatures, which are now his prey.

4. בְּנַפְשׁוֹ: *with its life*, *i.e.* its blood, *in it*. On the sacredness of the blood, conceived to be the essence of the life, cf. Lev. xvii. 11, 14; Deut. xii. 16 ff. Hence blood was forbidden from the earliest times (cf. 1 Sam. xiv. 17 ff.). The same ideas prevailed not only among the Semites (Well., *Reste*, pp. 124 ff.; Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 233 ff.), but also among the Greeks and Romans (Pliny, *e.g.*, speaks of drinking blood as "drawing forth man's very life," xxviii. 2), and among all primitive nations (cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, i. 355 ff.; Max Müller, *Gifford Lectures*, iii. 190 ff.).

5. The law of "blood for blood" (cf. pp. 203 ff.) is based on this idea.

לְנַפְשֹׁתֵיכֶם: i.e. *your own blood*, in contrast to the blood of beasts (ver. 4). The Athnah should perhaps be placed after וּמִיַּד הָאָדָם. The first part of the verse would then run smoothly: "And verily your own blood will I require; both at the hand of every beast will I require it, and at the hand of man." The last clause would then lay down the general rule. מִיַּד אִישׁ אָחִיו: prob. of reciprocal action (cf. Zech. vii. 10), "yea, every man's life will I require at his brother's hand" (cf. Bud., *Bibl. Urg.* pp. 283 ff.). On the responsibility of the animals, cf. note on iii. 14.

9. On the covenant "set up" by God, see note on vi. 18.

10. Here again God's care for the lower animals appears.

12. The sign "given" is also all on God's part.

13. קֶשֶׁת is used of the rainbow also in Ezek. i. 28 (cf. Rev. iv. 3, x. 1); but only here is it defined as "God's bow." The bow is here the "sign" of peace and goodwill between God and man. Originally, perhaps, it was conceived as the bow by which Jahveh shot forth His arrows (Num. xxiv. 8; Deut. xxxii. 23; Ps. xxii. 15; etc.). To the Babylonians it was the bow that Marduk used in his fight with Tiâmat (cf. *Seven Tables*, v. 76 ff.). The Arabs likewise regarded the rainbow as the battle-bow of God (cf. Well., *Prol.*[3] p. 326, n. 1). Similar ideas are found in India and other lands.

14. עַנְנִי: denom. fr. עָנָן, *bring clouds together*, found only here.

15. The bow is a "reminder" to God of His covenant with man. The strong anthropomorphism, however, is to P probably no more than a form of words. The bow was a "sign" to man that God would not forget His covenant.

Ch. x. The order is here from youngest to oldest, no doubt to lead up to Shem, the ancestor of Abram, through whom the main stream of the history flows. On Shem and Japheth, cf. ix. 20 ff. חָם is usually derived fr. Chem, *black*, the native name for Egypt, prob. because of its black soil, brought down by the Nile (cf. *viridem Ægyptum nigra fecundat harena*, Verg., *Georg.* iv. 293).

2. גֹּמֶר (mentioned also in Ezek. xxxviii. 6 as an ally of Gog of Magog): unquestionably the Gimirrai of the Assyrian inscriptions, who invaded the territory of the Ḫilakki but were defeated by Esarhaddon in 677 B.C. (*KB*, ii. p. 128, l. 6), and in the reign of Asshurbanipal attacked and defeated Gugu, king of the Lydians (*KB*, ii. p. 172, ll. 95 ff.). A comparison of the latter notice with Herod. i. 15, etc., proves their identity with the *Κιμμέριοι* of the Greeks, a nomad people from the regions N. of the Black Sea (cf. Homer, *Od.* xi. 14; Herod. iv. 12), who were driven Eastward by Scythian pressure, and thence overflowed into Asia Minor, capturing Sardis in 635, but on being forced back by Alyattes, finally settled in Cappadocia (cf. Herod. iv. 11 f.; Str. XI. ii. 5; etc.).

מָגוֹג (found also in Ezek. xxxviii. 2, xxxix. 6 as the land or people of Gog): prob. a Scythian nation near the Caucasus (cf. Joseph., *Antiq.* I. vi. 1), at all events, one of the elements of the great movement associated with the Cimmerian invasion (cf. Ezek. *l.c.*).

מָדַי: Assyr. *Ma-ad-ai*, the Medes, the Indo-European nation which came into historical importance towards the end of the 8th cent. B.C. (cf. Assyr. records fr. Rammân-Nirâri iii., 812–783 B.C., downwards), and afterwards formed part of the great Medo-Persian Empire. On their connection with Israel, cf. p. 25.

יָוָן (cf. Ezek. xxvii. 13, 19, etc.): Assyr. *Ja-av-na-ai* or

Ja-am-na-ai, Gr. *Ἰάονες* = *ἸάFονες* or *Ἰῶνες*, the Ionians, the name used for the Greeks in general.

תֻּבַל וּמֶשֶׁךְ (in Ezek. xxxviii. 2 f. and xxxix. 1 as the flower of the army of Gog): undoubtedly the Tabali and Muski of the Assyr. Inscriptions, and the *Μόσχοι* and *Τιβαρηνοί* of the classical writers (Herod. iii. 94, vii. 78; Pliny, vi. 11 ff.; etc.), who lived at first N.E. of Cilicia, on the S. bank of the R. Halys, but by Herodotus' time farther north, in the hill-country S.E. of the Black Sea.

תִּירָס (only here and 1 Chron. i. 5): doubtful. The most plausible identification is with the Tursa or *Τυρσηνοί*, (Herod. i. 57, 94; Thuc. iv. 109; etc.), the notorious Pelasgian pirates (cf. W. Max Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, pp. 380 ff.).

3. אַשְׁכְּנַז (in Jer. li. 27 alongside of Ararat and Minni): therefore to be sought in the neighbourhood of Lake Van. This renders very probable their identification with the Ashguzai, the ally of the Mannai (= Minni), whom Esarhaddon overthrew (*KB*, ii. p. 128, l. 30). The classical Ascania is too far west. רִיפַת: quite uncertain. The prevalent identification with the classical *ὄρη Ῥιπαῖα* is more than doubtful. We should look for the people rather in Asia Minor. תּוֹגַרְמָה (mentioned also in Ezek. xxxviii. 6 as part of the army of Gog): prob. the Til-garimmu, in Melitene, a region of Cappadocia, of the Assyr. inscriptions (*KB*, ii. 62, ll. 81 ff.; etc.).

4. אֱלִישָׁה (in Ezek. xxvii. 7 as a place from whose "isles," or "coast-lands," blue and purple were brought to Tyre for the awning of her ships): variously interpreted as the Peloponnese, or S. Italy and Sicily, but most prob. as Carthage and the coast-lands near that city. The island of Meninx, one of the Syrtes, near Carthage, was famous for purple (Pliny, ix. 127). Some recent scholars, however, have plausibly identified the name

with the *Alashia* of the Amarna Tablets, which they find in Cyprus (cf. Jastrow, *DB*, v. p. 80) or Crete (cf. Sayce, *ibid.* i. p. 697). The probable identification of Kittim with Cyprus (see *inf.*) is a strong argument against Jastrow's view. Crete, however, remains a possible identification. תַּרְשִׁישׁ: the Spanish city of Tartessus, the name prob. embracing also the coast-land from Gibraltar to the mouth of the Guadalquivir; originally a Phœnician colony, but independent from about the 8th or 7th cent. B.C. כִּתִּים: prob. the inhabitants of Cyprus, fr. *Κίττιον*, its old capital. Cyprus also was a Phœnician colony, which afterwards became Greek. In Jer. ii. 10 the name Kittim covers several "isles" or "coast-lands." The word has prob. the same extension here. רֹדָנִים: the inhabitants of the famous island of Rhodes, at the entrance to the Ægean, an important geographical centre (cf. Strabo, ii., *passim*), and the main channel of Greek colonising influence over the islands of the Ægean and the coast of Asia Minor. These islands, too, were originally Phœnician.

5. From these centres Greek civilisation penetrated further among the islands and coast-lands.

6. כּוּשׁ: the common name in the O.T. for the district S. of Egypt, including Nubia, Abyssinia, etc מִצְרַיִם: the general name for Egypt, the plur. including both Upper and Lower Egypt. פּוּט (distinguished fr. Lub, or Lybia, with which it is usually identified, in Nah. iii. 9 and prob. also in Ezek. xxx. 5): prob. Punt, on the African coast of the Red Sea, mentioned in Egyptian inscriptions (W. M. Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, pp. 106 ff.). כְּנַעַן (the Kinaḫḫi of the Amarna Tablets): the non-Israelite inhabitants of Palestine (cf. ix. 25 ff.).

7. סְבָא (in Ps. lxxii. 10, along with Sheba, as name of distant land in the S.; in Isa. xliii. 3, xlv. 14 mentioned along with Egypt and Cush as a land of merchandise): prob. Strabo's *Σαβαί*, with its harbour

Σαβά, on the W. coast of the Red Sea, near the modern Suakim (Str. XVI. iv. 8, 10). חֲוִילָה: prob. the same land as the Havilah of ii. 11 and x. 28 (J^2). סַבְתָּה (elsewhere only in 1 Chron. i. 9): usually identified with *Σάβαθα* (Str. XVI. iv. 2) or Sabota (Pliny, vi. 155, xii. 63), the capital of the Ḥaḍramaut, a great emporium of the frankincense trade. As, however, the name refers to a people, it is better to connect it with Ptolemy's *Σάφθα*, near the W. Coast of the Persian Gulf (cf. Glaser, *Skizze*, 252 ff.). רַעְמָה (coupled with *Sheba*, as traders in spices, precious stones, and gold, in Ezek. xxvii. 22): prob. the Raʿmah of the Sabæan inscriptions, the *Ῥαμμανῖται* of Strabo (XVI. iv. 24), in S.W. Arabia, N. of the Ḥaḍramaut (cf. Glaser, pp. 252 f.). סַבְתְּכָה: identified with *Σαμυδάκη*, in Carmania, in the corner of Arabia E. of the Persian Gulf (cf. Glaser, p. 252). שְׁבָא: see on ver. 28 (J^2). דְּדָן (in Jer. xxv. 23; Ezek. xxv. 13, etc., in connection with Edom and Teman; mentioned also in Sabæan inscriptions): the district of Arabia between Edom and Sheba (cf. Glaser, pp. 392 ff.).

22. עֵילָם, Assyr. *Ilamtu*: the warlike people of Susiana, E. of Babylonia. The Elamites were not really Semites, but geographically and politically they were closely related to Assyria. אַשּׁוּר: Assyria. אַרְפַּכְשַׁד most prob. = אֶרֶץ כֶּשֶׂד (cf. Ar. أَرَفَة, *boundary*. fr. ارف, *to bound*): "the district of Chesed," *i.e.* Babylonia (cf. Josephus, *Antiq.* I. v. 4). The mention of Babylonia seems quite necessary here. לוּד can hardly be other than the Lydians of Asia Minor, who, though neither Semites, nor living near the other nations mentioned here, were yet closely connected with Assyria, both by royal relations and by worship (cf. Herod. i. 7). אֲרָם, Assyr. *Aramu*, *Arumu*: the Aramæans, bet. the Euphrates and Palestine.

22. עוּץ, the land of Job (i. 1), connected with Edom in Lam. iv. 21, prob. the Ḥazu of Esarhaddon, whom he couples with the Bazu (*KB*, ii. p. 130, ll. 25 ff.), as עוּץ is coupled with בּוּז (Gen. xxii. 21): evidently a district on the border of the Arabian desert between Damascus and Edom. חוּל: usu. identified with Ḥule, round L. Merom; but Fried. Del. connects with Ḥuli(j)a near Mt. Masius (*Paradies*, p. 259). גֶּתֶר: unknown. מַשׁ: usu. identified with Mt. Masius (Str. XI. xiv. 2), but more prob. the great desert Mashu, in N. Arabia, penetrated by Gilgamesh (Tab. xi. col. ii. 1 ff.).

xi. 10. אַרְפַּכְשַׁד: see note on x. 24.

12. שֶׁלַח: connected with Shalach or Salach in N. Mesopotamia (Dill., Holz.).

14. עֵבֶר (cf. x. 24): the *heros eponymus* of the Hebrew peoples.

16. פֶּלֶג: prob. connected with Phalga, at the junction of the Chaboras and Euphrates.

18. רְעוּ: doubtful.

20. שְׂרוּג: prob. connected with Sarug, a district and town in N. Mesopotamia, some 40 miles W. of Haran (Dill., Driver).

23. נָחוֹר: name of an Aramæan "ancestor" (xxii. 20 ff.). The name appears to be also a personal one (cf. Kittel, *Die Babylonischen Ausgrabungen*, p. 19). The name recurs in ver. 26.

24. תֶּרַח: prob. connected with Tharrana, S. of Edessa (Dill., Holz.).

26. On Abram, cf. Chapter VIII. p. 175, n. 1.

הָרָן: hardly to be regarded as a variant form of חָרָן (Well., Budde). The change of ה and ח seems decisive against such an identification. Dill. suggests a connection with בֵּית הָרָן (Num. xxxii. 36). This would bring us to the Plains of Moab, the future home of one section of Lot.

27. לוֹט: possibly a variant of the stronger form

לוֹטָן, which occurs as the name of a Horite clan, in the district afterwards occupied by Edom, in Gen. xxxvi. 20 ff.

29. שָׂרַי and מִלְכָּה appear also to be proper names (cf. Kittel, *op. cit.* p. 19). יִסְכָּה: derivation and meaning alike uncertain.

31. אוּר: prob. the old Babylonian city Ur, represented by the ruins of Mugheir. חָרָן: the famous Mesopotamian emporium, on the high road from Babylonia and Assyria to the west.

B.—*TRANSLATIONS FROM THE BABYLONIAN RECORDS.*

The Myth of Creation.

1. The Version of Damascius (*De primis Principiis*, ed. Kopp, cap. 125).

Of the barbarians, the Babylonians have chosen to disregard the idea of one principial origin of all things, and assume two, Tauthe and Apason, representing Apason as the husband of Tauthe, and calling her "the mother of the gods." Of these two, they relate, was born an only son, Moysis, whom I conceive to be the intelligible universe, which is composed of two principial elements. Of the same parents arose another generation, Lache and Lachos; then of the same a third generation, Kissare and Assoros, of whom were born three sons, Anos, Illinos, and Aos. The son of Aos and Dauke was Belos, who, they say, was the creator of the world.

2. The Version of Berosus (Müller, *Frag. Hist. Græc.* ii. 497).

There was a time, he says, when all was darkness and water, in which existed living creatures of monstrous kinds and wondrous shapes: for men were brought to birth with two wings, and some even with four wings and two faces, some also with one body but two heads, a man's and a woman's, and double secret parts, male and female. There were other men with goats' legs and horns, others with horses' feet, and others with the hinder parts of a horse, but the front parts those of a man, like

centaurs. Bulls also were generated with the heads of men, and dogs with four bodies ending in fishes' tails, and horses and men with dogs' heads; other living creatures with horses' heads and bodies but fishes' tails, and others with the shapes of all sorts of animals. Besides these were fishes and creeping things, and snakes and other wonderful creatures with strangely intermingled shapes, representations of which are found in the temple of Bel. And over all these reigned a woman named Omorka, *i.e.* in Chaldean Thamte,[1] which translated into Greek is *θάλασσα* (the sea), in numerical value equivalent to *σελήνη*.

When all things were in this condition, Bel came and split the woman through the middle, and of the one half made earth and of the other heaven, and destroyed the creatures that were within her.

And this, he says, is an allegorical account of the processes of Nature. For when all was a watery mass, and living creatures of shapes like these were brought to life in it, Bel, as they call Zeus, split the darkness in two, and thus divided earth and heaven from one another, and put the Cosmos in order. The living creatures, being unable to endure the power of the light, were destroyed.

Then Bel, seeing the ground waste, though capable of bearing fruit,[2] bade one of the gods cut off his head,[3] and then mix earth with the flowing blood, and so fashion men and animals that should be able to endure the air.[4] Bel also made the stars, and the sun and moon, and the five planets.

[1] Read Θαμτε for Θαλατθ (Robertson Smith).

[2] But Gunkel proposes *ἀκαρποφόρον*, *i.e.* "seeing the ground waste and barren," which yields a better sense.

[3] *i.e.* Bel's own head (cf. *Seven Tables*, vi. 5).

[4] We have omitted from the body of the text the sentence which has long been recognised as an intrusion, and was originally a marginal gloss or variant, *viz.* "This god cut off his head, and the other gods mixed the

This is the account which, according to Alexander Polyhistor, Berosus gives in his first book.

3. The Seven Tables of Creation (*KB*, vi. 3 ff.; King, *Seven Tables*, etc.).

i. 1. When above the heaven had not received its name,[1]

2. And the solid earth below was not yet called by name,[1]

3. While Apsu, the primordial, that begat them,

4. And Chaos[2] Tiamat, that bare them all,

5. Had their waters mingled together,

6. When as yet no field was formed, nor marsh was to be seen,[3]

7. When none of the gods had yet come into being,

8. And none bare a name,[1] and no destinies (were fixed),

9. Then were created the first gods in the midst of (heaven):

10. Lachmu and Lachamu came into being . . .

11. Ages increased . . .

12. Then Anshar and Kishar were created . . .

13. Long days passed, then came forth . . .

14. Anu their son . . .[4]

Lines 22 ff. describe the hatred of Apsu and Mummu, his son, against the "new gods," and their plot to destroy them; the fragmentary ll. 60 ff. seem to show how the plot was circumvented by the cunning god Ea, who laid waste Apsu and took Mummu captive

flowing blood with earth, and fashioned men. Therefore men are possessed of wisdom and Divine understanding."

[1] *i.e.* "was not yet in existence" (cf. note on Gen. ii. 19).

[2] The meaning of Mummu here is much disputed. Usually it is understood as "Chaos." Jeremias, however, omits the word, as falsely inserted from ll. 30 ff. (*Das AT. etc.* p. 52, n. 3).

[3] Others, however, render "reed" and "thicket of reeds."

[4] The Version of Damascius helps to supply the missing links: Bel and Ea.

(97 f.). Tiamat resolves on vengeance. Lines 109 ff. describe the battle-array of monstrous beings that followed her to the fight, the deadly serpents, vipers and dragons, "the hurricanes, and raging hounds, and scorpion-men, and mighty tempests, and fish-men and rams," spawned and armed by Ummu-Chubur,[1] "who formed all things," with Kingu as leader. Tablet ii. relates how Ea learned of their array and reported to Anshar, his father, who sent first Anu and then Ea to appease Tiamat's wrath. They are afraid, and return to Anshar. Then Marduk volunteers to go and subdue the enemy. Tablet iii. describes the gathering of the great gods in council. The first part of Tablet iv. describes the elevation of Marduk to supremacy over the gods, his army for the battle, his going forth to meet Tiamat, and the fight, ending in Marduk's complete victory.

95. The lord spread out his net, and enclosed her,

96. And the tempest that was behind him he let loose;

97. As Tiamat opened her mouth to its full extent,

98. He drove in the tempest, ere she could close her lips.

99. With terrible winds he filled her belly.

100. Her courage was taken from her, and her mouth she opened wide.

101. He seized the spear, and burst her belly,

102. Severed her inward parts, and pierced her heart.

103. He overpowered her, and cut off her life,

104. Threw down her corpse, and stood upon it.

The next lines describe the conquest of Tiamat's army. This accomplished,

128. He returned to Tiamat, whom he had conquered.

[1] Ummu-Chubur (perhaps the *Omorka* of Berosus): another title for Tiamat.

129. The lord stood upon Tiamat's body,

130. And with his merciless club he crushed her skull.

131. He cut through the channels of her blood,

132. And he made the north wind bear it away to secret places.

133. As his fathers saw it, they rejoiced and were glad;

134. Gifts and presents they brought him.

135. Then the lord rested, and eagerly examined her corpse.

136. Then with cunning art he divided her trunk (?).

137. He split her like a flat (?) fish into two halves.

138. One half of her he set up, and made a covering for the heavens;

139. He drove in a bolt, and stationed a watch,

140. And bade them not allow her waters to issue forth.

141. Then he established the heavens as counterpart to the world below,

142. And set it over against the Ocean, the dwelling of Nudimmud.

143. Then the lord measured the shape of the Ocean,[1]

144. And as a palace after its model he built Esharra,

145. The great palace Esharra, which he built as a dome of heaven,

146. And made Anu, Bel, and Ea take up their several abodes.[2]

v. 1. He prepared also the stations for the great gods;

[1] *i.e.* "of the palace of the Deep," the dwelling of Nudimmud (Ea).

[2] We have here followed Jeremias' rendering (*Das AT. etc.* p. 55), which preserves the usual significance of Esharra (the palace of heaven), while securing a satisfactory relation of the three spheres.

2. The stars, their images, he set up as signs.

3. He arranged the year, and divided off its quarters.

4. For the twelve months he assigned each three stars.

5. After he had (distinguished) the days of the year by their images,

6. He founded the station of Nibir (Jupiter) to determine their bounds,

7. That none might fail, or go astray.

8. He founded the stations of Bel and Ea along with his.

9. He opened gates on either side;

10. He made the bolt strong on the left and the right.

11. In the midst he fixed the zenith of heaven.

12. He made the moon-god to shine forth, setting the night under him.

13. He marked him out as a body of light, to determine the days.

14. Every month, perpetually, he crowned him with a royal crown, and said:

15. "At the beginning of the month, when thou shinest on the land,

16. Shine out with thy horns, determining six days;

17. And on the seventh day, halve the crown.

18. On the fourteenth day . . .

(The broken lines evidently explain the connection of the moon-god with Shamash, the sun-god.)

Lines 25–70 are almost completely lost. At this point evidently Marduk shows his weapons to the great gods.

75. The gods, his fathers, beheld the net which he had made,

76. They beheld also the bow, how cunningly it was wrought,

77. They praised the work which he had done.

78. Then Anu raised . . . in the assembly of the gods.

79. He kissed the bow, saying: . .

80. And thus he named the name of the bow—

81. "Longwood" the one name, and . . the second,

82. And the third is "Bowstar," and in heaven . .

83. So he appointed its station. . . .

vi. 1. When Marduk heard the speech of the gods,

2. His heart moved him, and he devised a cunning plan.

3. He opened his mouth, and spake to Ea,

4. Even that which he had devised in his heart, he imparted to him:

5. "My blood will I take, and bone will I (fashion),

6. I will make man, that . . .

7. I will create man, who shall inhabit the earth,

8. That the service of the gods may be established, and their shrines (be built).

9. But I will alter the ways of the gods, and I will change the paths.

10. Together shall they be oppressed, and unto evil shall they . . .

11. But Ea answered him, and spake the word . . .

The rest of this tablet is lost or mutilated. The seventh contains the Hymn in adoration of Marduk, under many different titles. Among these we may quote—

1. O Asari, "Bestower of planting," "Founder of sowing,"

2. "Creator of grains and plants," "Bringer forth of the green herb."

16. "Who established for the gods the glittering heavens,

17. Who gave them their way, and established their path."

21. "The Creator of fulness and abundance," "the Founder of plenty."

29. "Who, for forgiveness (of his enemies) created mankind."

30. "The Merciful One, with whom rests power to create life."

31. "May his deeds endure, and never be forgotten

32. In the mouth of the black-headed (*i.e.* mankind), whom his hands did fashion."

115. "Who built the region of heaven, and fashioned the firm earth."

116. "The Lord of the world."

ANOTHER MYTH OF CREATION (*KB*, vi. 39 ff.).

1. A holy house, a house of the gods, on holy ground had not yet been made;

2. No reed had yet sprung up, nor tree been fashioned;

3. No brick had been laid, nor brick foundation built;

4. No house erected, nor city built;

5. No city had been made, nor population placed therein;

6. Nippur not made, nor Ekur (the sanctuary of Bel) built,

7. Uruk not made, nor Eana (the sanctuary of Anu) built;

8. The deep (Apsu) not made, nor Eridu (the sanctuary of Ea) built.

9. For a holy house, a house of the gods, the site had not been made.

10. The lands were altogether sea,

11. The soil of the islands was overflowing waters.

12. Then was Eridu made, and Esagila built,

13. Esagila, where in mid-Deep the god Lugal-dul-azaga (Marduk) dwelleth.

[14. Babel was made, and Esagil was finished.][1]

15. And the gods, the Anunnaki, were created all together.

16. The holy city, the dwelling that delights their heart, they proclaimed on high.

17. Then Marduk laid a tress-work of reeds on the surface of the waters,

18. He made a heap of earth, and poured it out beside the reeds.

19. In order that the gods might dwell with pleasure in their house,

20. He built man :

21. With him the goddess Aruru built mankind.

22. The beasts of the field also, and the living creatures in the field he built.

23. The Tigris and the Euphrates he built, and set them in their place.

24. Their names he named in goodly style.

25. The grass, the rush of the marsh, the reed and the shrubs he built,

26. The green herb of the field he built,

27. The lands, the marshes, and the swamps,

28. The wild cow and her young, the wild calf, the ewe and her young, the lamb of the fold,

29. Plantations and forests ;

30. The he-goat and the mountain-goat, . . .

31. Marduk, the Lord, filled up a dam on the margin of the sea,

32. He . . . a swamp, and made a bed of marsh.

33. He made . . . to come

34. He built (reeds and) trees,

35. He built . . . on the place.

36. (He laid brick) and built a structure of brick ;

37. (Houses he made), cities he built.

[1] This line, which interrupts the context, is usually regarded, with justice, as a later insertion, to the glory of Babylon.

38. (Cities he made), a population he placed in them.

39. (Nippur he made), Ekur he built.

40. (Uruk he made), Eana he built.

THE STORY OF EABANI AND UKHAT (*KB*, vi. 121 ff.).

A pathetic appeal is made to the goddess Aruru to create a hero able to resist Gilgamesh, and check his violence.

33. When Aruru heard this, she formed in her heart an image (likeness) of Anu.

34. Aruru washed her hands, kneaded clay, threw it on the ground,

35. Created Eabani, a mighty man, a mighty scion, a host of Ninib's.

This man has a body covered with hair, and lives with the beasts, eating herbs with the gazelles, drinking with the cattle, and finding heart-satisfaction with the swarming creatures of the water. To ensnare Eabani, and so frustrate Aruru's plan, Gilgamesh sends Ṣadu, the hunter. For three days he tries to entrap him when drinking with the cattle, but is terrified at his appearance, and flees. At Gilgamesh's advice, Ṣadu next takes with him Ukhat, a sacred harlot. Eabani falls a victim to her seductions. His former friends, the gazelles and cattle of the field, now flee from him. Eabani gives up all thought of them, and cleaves to Ukhat. "When she speaks to him, her words please him; He seeks for one who knows his heart—a friend" (Col. iv. 40 f.) So he accompanies her to Erech, the city of Gilgamesh.

THE LEGEND OF ADAPA (*KB*, vi. 92 ff.).

Adapa, the son of Ea, is endowed by his father with "wisdom," whence he is called Atrachasis ("the very clever"). The keeper of the sanctuary of Ea in Eridu, he is one day fishing, when a fierce South wind sweeps him into the waters. By the help of Ea, he succeeds in "breaking the wings" of the storm-bird, so that for seven days the South wind is stilled. In anger at this, Anu, the god of heaven, denounces Adapa, and demands his presence before an assembly of the gods. Ea warns Adapa, and advises him:

Part II. Obverse l. 28. "When thou comest before Anu,

29. They will offer thee the bread of death:

30. Eat it not. They will offer thee the water of death:

31. Drink it not. They will offer thee a robe:

32. Put it on. They will offer thee oil: anoint thyself.

33. The order I give thee neglect not. The words

34. I speak to thee, thou shalt keep."

Adapa appears before the gods. But Anu's wrath is now appeased. Having allowed Adapa to view the secrets of heaven and earth, the gods feel they must admit him into their circle. "Now what shall we grant him? Food of life fetch him, that he may eat it." But when they brought the food of life, he ate it not. When they brought him water of life, he drank it not. When they brought him a robe, he put it on. When they brought him oil, he anointed himself. Anu looked at him, and was astonished over him. "Come, Adapa, why hast thou not eaten, nor drunken? Now thou canst not live (for ever)." (Adapa answered:) "Ea my lord commanded me, 'Eat not and drink not.'" (Anu then ordered:) "Take him, and bring him back to earth." Thus Adapa failed to win eternal life.

BEROSUS' LIST OF ANTEDILUVIAN KINGS (Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* iii. 498).

I. Alorus: 10 sars. II. Alaparos: 3 sars. III. Amelon: 13 sars. IV. Ammenon: 12 sars. V. Megalaros: 18 sars. VI. Daonus: 10 sars. VII. Euedorachos: 18 sars. VIII. Amempsinos: 10 sars. IX. Otiartes: 8 sars. X. Xisouthros: 18 sars.[1]

THE FLOOD STORY.

1. Version of Berosus (Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* ii. p. 501).

The same Alexander relates the following story, which he declares to come from the Chaldean writings: On the death of Ardates, his son Xisuthros[2] reigned 18 sars. During his reign a great flood took place. The tale runs as follows. Cronos appeared to him in his sleep, and showed him that on the 18th Daisios mankind would be destroyed by a flood. He bade him therefore make a written account of the origin, middle, and end of all things, and bury it in the city of Sispara, and then build a ship and embark with his relatives and nearest friends. He bade him also lay in provisions, and bring together animals, winged and four-footed, and having arranged everything in order, set sail. And if he were asked whither he was sailing, he was to answer: "To the gods, to pray that blessings might come to men." Not despising his word, Xisuthros built a ship 5 (Armenius: 15) stadia long and 2 stadia broad. Then he carried out all the orders laid upon him, and brought his wife and children and friends on board.

When the flood came, as soon as it ceased, Xisuthros

[1] 1 sar = 3600 years.

[2] Ξίσουθρος: the Greek form (by transposition) of Atra-chasis, "the very clever," the name of honour of Ut-napishtim.

let out some of the birds. These, however, found no food nor place to settle, and returned again to the ship. Again, after some days, Xisuthros let out the birds. These once more returned to the ship, with their feet smeared with mud. Being let out a third time, they returned no more to the ship. From this Xisuthros gathered that the earth had appeared to view. Accordingly, he removed part of the joinings of the ship, and seeing that the ship had been driven upon a certain mountain, he disembarked with his wife and daughter and the steersman, and fell down on the ground in prayer. Then he built an altar, and sacrificed to the gods, and immediately afterwards disappeared, together with those who had disembarked with him. Those who were left behind on the ship, finding that the party with Xisuthros did not return to them, also disembarked, and sought for him, calling him by name. Xisuthros, however, appeared no more to them; but a voice came from heaven, bidding them be pious, as was right, for as the reward of his piety, he had gone to dwell with the gods: his wife and also his daughter and the steersman had been admitted to share the same honour. He also bade them return to Babylon, and according to appointment recover the writings that were buried in Sispara, and give them to men, informing them that the place where they were was the land of Armenia.

When they heard that, they sacrificed to the gods, and journeyed on foot to Babylon. Of this ship, thus stranded in Armenia, some part still remains in the mountains of the Kordyæans of Armenia; and from it people get bitumen, which they scratch off, and use for preventing illnesses. So when they came to Babylon, they dug up the writings from Sispara, founded many cities, renewed the sanctuaries, and re-peopled Babylon.

2. The Babylonian Text (*KB*, vi. pp. 228 ff.).

Col. i. 8. Ut-napishtim said to him, even to Gilgamesh:

9. "I will reveal to thee, O Gilgamesh, an unknown tale,
10. Even the secret of the gods will I unfold to thee.
11. Shurippak, a city that thou knowest,
12. That lies on the bank of the Euphrates,—
13. That city was already old, when the gods within it,
14. Even the great gods, determined to bring a flood upon it.
15. The (president of their assembly) was their father Anu,
16. Their counsellor the mighty warrior Bel,
17. Their herald Ninib,
18. Their leader Ennugi.
19. The "lord of wisdom" Ea was also of the assembly,
20. And he told their words to a reed-hut:
21. "Reed-hut, reed-hut, wall, wall,
22. Reed-hut, hear! wall, give ear!
23. O man of Shurippak, son of Abaratutu,
24. Erect a structure, build a ship.
25. Leave goods, and care for life,
26. Abandon possessions, and save life.
27. Bring into the ship living creatures of every kind.
28. The ship that thou shalt build,
29. *x* cubits shall be its dimensions,
30. *x* cubits its breadth and length alike.
31. Then launch it on the deep."
32. I understood, and said to Ea my lord:
33. "Yea (?), my lord, what thou commandest,
34. I have observed, and will carry it out.
35. But what shall I say to the city, the people and the elders?"
36. Ea opened his mouth, and spake,

37. He said to his servant, even to me:
38. "Thus shalt thou say to them, O man:
39. 'Seeing that Bel hateth me,
40. I will no more dwell in your city,
41. And no longer show my face on Bel's earth,
42. But I will go down to the ocean, to dwell with Ea my lord.
43. And over you will the gods then rain fulness,
44. (Booty of) birds, booty of fishes,
45. (Rich produce of cattle, rich) harvests of fruit.
46. (A fixed time hath Shamash set:) when the rulers of the whirlstorm
47. (One evening send a muddy rain), then will (the gods) rain upon you (fulness).'"
48. (So soon as a little morning light) appeared

. . . . . .

56. The strong man . . . brought all things needful for the building.
57. On the fifth day I planned its shape.
ii. 1. According to the plan, its walls were 120 cubits high,
2. Corresponding to this, 120 cubits the edging of the roof.[1]
3. Then I built up the framework of the ship, I myself fashioned it.
4. I built it in six stories,
5. I divided it into seven parts.
6. The inner part I portioned out into nine compartments.
7. Water-plugs (?) I drove in.
8. I got me a rudder, and laid in provisions.

[1] This prob. implies 120 cubits long and broad as well. But Haupt conjectures 600 cubits for the length. Another text in Johns' *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, ii. No. 777, seems to give 660 (half-) cubits long, 390 wide, and 150 high, as the measurements (cf. *Expos.*, Sixth Series, vol. iii. pp. 214 ff.). There would appear, therefore, to have been variations in the tradition.

9. Three sars of pitch I poured over the outside,
10. Three sars of asphalt I poured over the inside.
11. Three sars of oil the carriers brought in,
12. Apart from one sar, which the people were to consume at the sacrifice,
13. And two sars which the ship-master used.
14. For the people I slaughtered bullocks,
15. Lambs I slew each day;
16. Must, beer, oil and wine
17. (I gave the people to drink) like the flowing of water.
18. (I made) a festival, as on the day of New Year's feast.
19. (I opened a) box of ointment, and put my hand in.
20. (Before sundown?)[1] was the ship finished.

. . . . . .

24. With all that I had, I filled the ship,
25. With all that I had in silver, I filled it,
26. With all that I had in gold, I filled it,
27. With all that I had in living creatures, I filled it.
28. I brought on board the ship all my family and my household, male and female.
29. Cattle of the field, beasts of the field, workmen, all these I brought on board.
30. A set time had Shamash fixed:
31. "When the senders of deluging rain at evening cause a muddy rain to fall,
32. Then enter the ship, and close the door."
33. This appointed time came;
34. The rulers of the whirlstorm at evening caused a muddy rain to fall.
35. The dawning of the day I feared,
36. The day to see, was I filled with pain.

[1] Apparently of the same day. The sixth day would thus be occupied in embarking, etc.

37. I entered the ship, and shut the door,

38. To the captain of the ship, even Puzur-Bel, the ship-master,

39. I entrusted the structure, and all its contents.

40. So soon as a little morning light[1] appeared,

41. There rose from the horizon of heaven piles of black cloud.

42. Hadad thundered therein,

43. While Nebo and Sharru marched in front,

44. As heralds together passed over hill and dale.

45. Nergal let loose the *targullu* (?).

46. Ninib advanced, and made an attack.

47. The Anunnaki raised the torches,

48. Made the whole land to gleam with their bright shining.

49. Adad's whirlstorm swept the heavens,

50. Changed all light into darkness.

51. He overwhelmed the land like . . .

52. One whole day (raged) the storm.

iii. 1. In storm waves, the waters rose above the mountains.

2. Like a battle-storm they burst over men,

3. So that brother could not see brother,

4. Nor were men recognised in heaven.

5. The gods were terrified at the storm-flood,

6. They shrunk back, and mounted up to Anu's heaven.

7. The gods cowered like dogs, in their station at the horizon.

8. Ishtar cried like a woman in travail,

9. She cried aloud, the Queen of the gods, of the lovely voice:

10. "The life of days gone bye has become clay,

11. Since I ordained evil in the assembly of the gods,

[1] This was probably the morning of the seventh day. Cf. Gen. vii. 4 (J).

12. Yea, even I ordained evil in the assembly of the gods,

13. And set the battle in array for the destruction of my own mankind.

14. But were men born for this,

15. That they should fill the sea like a shoal of fish?"

16. The gods of the Anunnaki wept with her,

17. The gods cowered, and sat weeping.

18. Pressed together (?) were their lips.

19. Six day and six nights

20. The wind raged on, while storm-flood and hurricane swept the land.

21. When the seventh day came, the tempest sank, the storm-flood ceased,

22. Which had made havoc like a host of battle.

23. The sea became calm, the storm was stilled, the flood ceased.

24. I looked on the sea, lamenting bitterly (?).

25. And lo! all men had been turned again to clay.

26. The whole face of the earth spread itself out before me like *uri* (?).

27. I opened a loop-hole; the light fell upon my face.

28. I knelt down, and lay and wept,

29. And over my face the tears coursed.

30. I looked in all directions, and saw nothing but sea.

31. After twelve double-hours an island rose.

32. The ship reached the mountain Niṣir.

33. The mountain Niṣir held the ship fast, and allowed it not to move.

34. One day, a second day, the mountain Niṣir, etc.

35. A third day, a fourth day, the mountain Niṣir, etc.

36. A fifth day, a sixth day, the mountain Niṣir, etc.

37. When the seventh day came,
38. I sent out a dove, and let it go.
39. The dove flew hither and thither;
40. As there was no place to rest on, it returned again.
41. I sent out a swallow, and let it go.
42. The swallow flew hither and thither;
43. As there was no place to rest on, it returned again.
44. I sent out a raven, and let it go.
45. The raven flew off, saw the minishing of the waters,
46. Flew hither and thither, croaking (?), but returned not again.
47. Thereupon I let all go out to the four winds, offered a sacrifice,
48. Made a drink-offering on the summit of the mountain,
49. Twice seven vessels of *adagur* I offered,
50. And therewith I laid out fragrant reeds, cedar wood and incense.
51. The gods smelt the fragrance,
52. The gods smelt the sweet fragrance,
53. The gods gathered themselves like flies around the sacrifice.
54. So soon as the Queen of the gods was come,
iv. 1. She raised aloft the fine necklaces (?) that Anu had made according to her wish.
2. "Ye gods here!" she said, "by the ornament of my neck, which I can ne'er forget,
3. Truly I will remember these days, and forget them not to all eternity.
4. The gods may go to the offering,
5. But Bel shall not go to the offering,
6. Because without consideration he brought the rain-storm,

7. And handed over my humanity to the doom of destruction."

8. When Bel at length arrived,

9. And saw the ship, he was enraged;

10. He was filled with anger against the Igigi gods.

11. "Who has escaped of living creatures?

12. No one was to survive this judgment."

13. Ninib opened his mouth and spake,

14. He spake to the mighty warrior Bel:

15. "Who but Ea does such things?

16. For Ea knows all manner of devices."

17. Ea opened his mouth and spake,

18. He spake to the mighty warrior Bel:

19. "Thou All-wise one among the gods, mighty warrior Bel,

20. Why without consideration didst thou raise the storm-flood?

21. Visit his sin upon the sinner,

22. Visit his transgression upon the transgressor.

23. But let the righteous (?) not be destroyed, nor the innocent (?) be cut off.

24. Instead of thy raising a storm-flood,

25. Let lions come, and diminish mankind.[1]

26. Instead of thy raising a storm-flood,

27. Let panthers come, and diminish mankind.

28. Instead of thy raising a storm-flood,

29. Let famine come, and consume the land.

30. Instead of thy raising a storm-flood,

31. Let Nergal (*i.e.* pestilence) come, and smite the land.

32. But I did not betray the secret of the great gods.

33. I caused Atra-chasis to see dreams, and so he understood the purpose of the gods."

[1] Or "lions ought to have come, and diminished mankind," and so also in the following lines 27, 29, etc.

34. When he came to a reasonable mind,
35. Bel stepped on board the ship;
36. He took my hand, and brought me to the shore (?),
37. He brought my wife also, and made her kneel at my side;
38. He touched our shoulders (?), stepped between us, and blessed us:
39. "Hitherto hath Ut-napishtim been of human kind;
40. But now shall Ut-napishtim and his wife be gods, as we are.
41. Ut-napishtim shall dwell afar, at the confluence of the streams."
42. So they brought me afar, and made me dwell at the confluence of the streams.

FRAGMENT OF A SECOND VERSION (*KB*, vi. 255 ff.).

5. "When the time (comes), that I shall send thee,
6. Go into the ship, and close the door of the ship;
7. (Bring therein) thy corn, thy property, and thy possessions,
8. (Bring therein) thy family, thy relatives, and the sons of the workmen.
9. Cattle of the field, beasts of the field, all that eat green herbs
10. (Will I) send thee, and they shall wait at thy door."
11. Atrachasis opened his mouth and spake,
12. To Ea his lord, he said:
13. "Never have I made a ship . . .
14. (On the ground) do thou sketch its plan.
15. The plan will I study, and the ship (will I build) . . ."

Story of Ea and Atrachasis (*KB*, vi. 275 f.).

For the sins of men Bel sends a year of drought and famine. Men cry to heaven. Atrachasis appeals to Ea. At his request, Bel removes the famine. Men sin even worse than before. Bel sends new scourges: fever, etc. Then he forewarns Atrachasis of a flood to destroy them, which he will escape by ship.

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